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No. 1

KALINGADESA¹

(Salient features of its History)

By Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HON. PH. D.

The modern expression, Orissa is a corruption of Oḍṛaḍēśa and takes into it the territories known by the names Kalinga, Utkala, Oḍṛa or Oḍḍa and even a part of Daśāraṇa. It took in the whole territory which at one time in history was included in the name Kōśala, obviously South Kōśala, as distinct from the north. The exact territorial limits of this Kōśala in the eleventh century seem to have corresponded, more or less to the present day territorial limits of the tributary states of Orissa².

Of these, the territory included in the name Kalinga seems to be the oldest, and by that name the whole may be referred to for any purposes of historical discussion.

I have not so far come upon any reference to Kalinga as such in Vedic literature. But among the kingdoms of the South the rulers of which are described in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa generally as assuming the title Bhōja, Kalinga seems capable of inclusion, though there is no explicit statement to the effect. There are specific references, however, in a number of places in the Mahābhārata to the kingdom of Kalinga. Apart from stray references to Kalinga rulers as such, and

1. Presented for the Kalinga Day to A. H. R. S.

2. See Inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I.

the part that the individual Kalinga rulers played in the Great War, Kalinga is described as a forest country beginning as soon as the river Vaitarani is reached. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the descendants begotten on the Queen Sushēna of Kalinga, wife of Bali by Rishi Dirghatama,¹ and the five sons born to her are said to have founded the five kingdoms; Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma. Of these five, the kingdom of Anga comprised the territory round Bhagalpur (ancient Champa) on the Ganges. Vanga was the region probably on both sides of the Ganges, though the great bulk of its territory seems to have lain to the east of the river, extending from the frontiers of Vanga to the sea. To the west of this seems to have lain Kalinga. Pundra has been known to correspond to North Bengal, that is, the territory on the northern side of the Ganges and perhaps to the east of the kingdom of Kōśala. The location of Suhma is not quite so definite, but it seems to have comprised the territory on the southern side of the Ganges extending from the river southwards to the frontiers of Kalinga east of the territory of Magadha. This description would make Kalinga extend from the Ganges Westwards, at any rate from Rūpnarain arm of the Ganges, at the mouth of which was situated the ancient port of Tāmralipti (the modern Damlok.) Throughout the greater part of history Kalinga seems to have corresponded to the region extending from this river to the river Godavari, and stretching from the sea into the interior marked by a vague line drawn along the course of the river Indravati to its junction with the Godavari and along its course northwards to meet the Ganges near the town of Burdwan.

In the Mahābhārata itself Kalinga is spoken of as one kingdom and its capital is named Rājapuri. In this particular connection the ruler of Kalinga is given the name Chitrāṅgada, whose daughter the Kaurava Prince Duryōdhana is said to have married. So far, then, as the Mahābhārata is concerned, Kalinga was a forest kingdom and its ruler is described as one in the Mahābhārata war. There is mention of Kalinga in the Sūtras of Pāṇini. There are a number of references in the Arthasāstra to Kalinga, particularly in reference to cotton fabric of a special kind. This feature of Kalinga is borne out by the Tamil word "Kalingam" for cotton cloth which probably had the original significance of cotton cloth of a particular kind, extended later on as a general name for all cotton stuff. So far, therefore, as Sanskrit literature is concerned, Kalinga was a well-known kingdom occupying the geographical position that it did within later historical times, and, according to one reference in the Great epic, it was the land of virtue where Dharma himself, the God of

1. The Mahābhārata, Bk XII. Ch 4. (Kum Edn.).

righteousness, performed a *yajña* in a particular spot which has since borne the name *Yajñapura*, the later, Jajpur. .

Passing from the Sanskrit to Buddhist evidence, we find Kalinga mentioned as a kingdom, with Dantapura as its capital. The earliest reference we get is in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* where there is a reference to a Kalinga king by name Karandū who is spoken of as a contemporary of Nagnajit of Gāndhāra and Bhtma of Vidarbha. This is confirmed by the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*. In the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*¹ there is a reference to another king of Kalinga by name Sattabhū as a contemporary of Dattarāṭṭa (*Dhritarāshtra*) of Kāśi, who is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This *Suttanta* gives the information that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapura. There is another reference, again from Buddhist sources, which seems to give us an insight into the division of Kalinga into two kingdoms at any rate, while in regard to its general features it seems to support the general description of it found in the *Mahābhārata*. The Ceylon Chronicle *Mahāvamsa* giving the history of the migration of Vijaya into Ceylon, describes the adventures of his mother the Bengal princess of Kalinga. When she was sent into exile for her lascivious waywardness by the father, the king, she departed the kingdom in the company of a caravan of merchants going to Magadha. While they were on the way through the territory of Lāḍha the whole party was set upon by a lion. The party scattered, and she fled, as did also the rest of them, to save her life, but accidentally took the path by which the lion came. When the lion returned he found the princess and was so charmed with her beauty that he begot upon her a son and a daughter. The son was called *Simhabāhu* or *Sihabāhu* because of the peculiar feature that he had the hands of a lion. When ultimately he returned to the grandfather's kingdom by the achievement of killing the lion, his father, which had grown so troublesome to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, he was given permission by the grandfather, or rather his uncle who married his mother and became subsequently ruler of Bengal, to clear the forest and set up a kingdom of his own. Thus was said to have been founded the kingdom of north Kalinga, at least one part of it with a capital *Sihapura* or *Simhapura*; and this was probably the forest region of Kalinga immediately adjoining the territory of Bengal in the lower reaches of the Ganges. It is very likely that the older kingdom lying farther south did continue, as we find the kingdom of Kalinga described in early Tamil classical literature, as composed of two parts with their respective capitals *Kapilapura* and *Simhapura* which may have reference to the centuries immediately preceding the Cristian era.

1. *Dialogues of the Buidha*, II; 270,

Scholars that first studied the Mahāvamsa interpreted this story as involving the banishment of the Bengal princess from Bengal to Lata or Gujarat as they misquoted Lāḍha with Lāṭi. It is now beyond doubt that the Lāḍha, under reference, is eastern Prakrit form of Rāḍha, a division of Vajjabhūmi on the banks of the Sone, or much rather, between the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in modern language West Bengal.

Kalinga is known to the Purāṇas and one of the Nāndas Nandivarman is said to have conquered it. This statement seems to receive some confirmation from the reference in the Hathigumpha inscription to the aqueduct constructed by Nandarāja at a period previous to the accession of Chandragupta to the Magadha throne. It is well known that the only conquest effected by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka after his accession to the throne of his father was the kingdom of Kalinga. In his inscription the kingdom is spoken of as a single kingdom. The Hathigumpha inscription, already referred to, of Kharavela speaks of it as a single kingdom as well, but with a capital which is read as Pritūdakadarbha. The Asoka Edicts do not mention the capital of Kalinga as such, but the fact that Asoka's Edicts are found in Dauli (Tosali) and Jaugada seems to lend colour to the inference that the first was the capital of the kingdom in the days of Asoka. Asoka's war was so destructive in character that it brought about a permanent revulsion of feeling in the humane emperor against war. Tamil literature describes a war which is similarly of a gruesome character. This was a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of the two kingdoms of Kalinga with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura¹. As a consequence of this war a famine is said to have supervened. That is as far as we are enabled to go with the means at our disposal till about the early centuries of the Christian era.

In the following centuries Kalinga must have been more or less of a flourishing kingdom, as we find frequent reference to it as supplying brides, heirs, and sometimes even usurpers to Ceylon, the ruling dynasty of which regarded itself as related by blood with the Kalinga rulers. According to traditional history in the early centuries of the Christian Era there was Yavana rule. Great efforts have been made to connect this Yavana rule with the Greeks who are readily taken to have established a kingdom there as a result of the raids carried into the heart of India under the Greek rulers Demetrius and Menandar in which both Madhyamika (Nagar near Chittore) in Rajaputana and Saketa (Oudh) suffered; but there is so far no evidence whatsoever of an irrefutable character of the Greek occupation of

1. Both Silappadhikāram and Manimekalai.

Kalinga and of the perpetuation of a dynasty in that region. The recent reading of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to make this definitely impossible, as Kharavela the Kalinga ruler claims to have driven the Yavanas (Greeks) from occupation of Muttra. This indicates that if ever the Greeks reached as far east as Kalinga their invasion was not of a character to warrant the assumption of a permanent occupation. We have no evidence of other Greek invasions so far and the term Yavana does not always mean Greek in Sanskrit literature.

In the century immediately preceding the Christian era, or a little before that, Kalinga was a well formed kingdom set over against the rising kingdom of the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan. The prosperous rule indicated by the Hathigumpha inscription under Kharavela does not appear to have been of such a character for any length of time. It is just possible that the fratricidal war between the two kingdoms referred to in the Tamil epics Silappadhikāram and Manimekalai may have been a historical war that followed soon after the rule of Kharavela of Kalinga. In the wars in the centuries immediately following the Christian era, Kalinga does not figure as an independent kingdom. The same Tamil epics that refer to the march of Karikāla to the north do not make any mention of the Kalinga kingdom although they do refer to Vajranādu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Śātakarni figure the hills of Mahēndra and Malaya. Mahēndra is the well-known Mahēndragiri, Malaya is the Malaya of Pliny and seems to stand for Mālyavān, one of the far-eastern peaks of the Vindhya mountains, quite on the borderland of Kalinga. That probably means that Kalinga was among his conquests. When the Āndhra power declined, Kalinga seems to have fallen to the share of the usurper from Ayodhya Śrī Vira Puruṣa Datta of the Ikshvāku race. Under the Guptas, Kalinga seems to have formed an integral part of the empire, although it is just possible that their Vākātaka contemporaries might have possessed a part of it. During all this period Kalinga was in pretty much the same religious condition as most other Indian states but in Jain religious history Kalinga figures as one of the influential Jain centres, and the Kharavela inscription lends colour to this claim. Similar claims were made by the Buddhists, and if the Ceylon Buddhist history is to be believed, there were Buddhist settlements of importance as well in Kalinga. When the Buddhists speak of Kalinga, Dantapura figures always as the capital. There is occasional mention of Simhapura, apparently the capital of northern Kalinga, the foundation of Simhabāhu with which Ceylon kept itself in communication.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, of the region comprised within the limits of Kalinga, seems to have left the territory

somewhat disorganised as there is record of a Yavana rule again and some of the ruling family emigrating to Ceylon. The possibility of a Yavana rule here could only be that of the Kshatrapas of the west. This possibility, however, proves very unlikely having regard to the existence of the Vakātaka power in the middle. The Yavana invasion of Kalinga therefore of this period probably has some vague reference to the invasion of Samudragupta himself as this must have proved rather thoroughgoing in character and destructive. Therefore, the possibility of a Kalinga princess Hēmamālā fleeing for safety from Dantapura with the 'tooth-relic' of the Buddha ultimately to Ceylon may be possible. But Raktabāhu the Yavana who was really the author of the invasion would be rather difficult to identify with the facts at our disposal. Later in the age of the Guptas the region round the Mēkhala, that is, the territory round the Maikal range, which is just the modern modification of Mēkhala passed into the possession of the Vakātakas and had to be brought under the control of the Guptas under Skandagupta and his successors. When the Gupta Empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century Kalinga must have regained somewhat of its powers, but in the period of struggle that immediately followed under the Guptas of Malva and Maukharis of Kanauj and the rulers of Thaneshwar, Kalinga seems to have enjoyed a respite, so far at any rate as the northern powers were concerned. It was about that time that the Western Chālukyas were rising into importance and possibly Kirtivarman, the first great ruler, made an effort to include it in his territory. But the troubles in the succession to the family that followed immediately gave some little respite till under Pulikēsin II, the Chālukyas made a systematic conquest of the northern half of the coast region in the East. The formation of the viceroyalty of the Eastern Chālukyas must have brought them into direct contact with Kalinga which in this age formed an integral part of Bengal and passed ultimately under the rule of Harsha whose conquest of the region as far south as Ganjam is on record in Hiuen T'sang's itinerary. When Harsha died and his empire broke up into the constituent kingdoms, Assam seems to have taken a turn for expansion and Kalinga again formed part of Bengal which again formed part and parcel of the extended kingdom of Assam under Bhāskaravarman and his successors. When a revolution upset this dynasty in Assam, Kalinga fell to its own devices and that period seems to synchronise with the coming into importance of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga called Eastern Gangas. Kalinga history thereafter takes its own course till about the middle of the sixteenth century up to which period it has a distinct history of its own.

With the fall of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Kalinga seems to have emerged into some importance. The foundation of

the Késari dynasty ascribed to the fifth century seems to have had its capital first of all in the interior in a place called Yayātinagar, from the first important ruler of this dynasty. This came to be known later as Ādinagar and as Śāḍinagar, in both of which forms it figures in the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola as we shall see later on. This place has been identified recently with a place called Sonepur on the river Mahānadi. There are several references to the conquest of Kalinga by the southern kings, the earliest of which was the invasion of Kirtivarman, the Western Chālukhya; Kalinga is referred to in his inscription of the year A. D. 567, but figures in this record in a more or less conventional list. There is a similar reference under Pulikēsin but in a much less conventional fashion, as his Aihole inscription states more clearly that both Kōsala and Kalinga submitted to him. The next in order would be its conquest by Dantidurga, the first Rāshtrakūṭa. In this case again Kalinga figures among a conventional list of his conquests. In a record of A. D. 877 Krishna II, Rāshtrakūṭa is said to have subdued Kalinga among other kingdoms. These various references lead us to the inference that Kalinga retained its historical existence as an independent kingdom, and came into touch with the neighbouring powers occasionally. It must be remembered that, from the character of the information accessible to us now, it is only when it comes into hostile contact with its neighbours, that it is likely to be mentioned at all. In the course of these centuries Kalinga seems to have passed under the rule of a new dynasty, that of the Eastern Gangas, the traditional date of foundation of which is in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D. With the advent of this dynasty Kalinga comes more prominently into view, as was stated already.

With the rise of the Western Chālukyas the territory extending from the Godavari southwards along the East Coast passed into their hands, probably from those of the Pallavas of Kāncī. Early in the seventh century this new acquisition was constituted into a separate viceroyalty with its head quarters first at Vēngi, which was probably later on transferred to Rajahmandri early in the eleventh century. This Viceroyalty became almost independent as the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas in the seventh century A. D. and as such, it was in constant contact with the kingdom of Kalinga on its northern frontier. The wars under the Rāshtrakūṭas, already noted against Kalinga must have been the side-issues in their constant wars with the Eastern Chālukyas. The definite political subordination of the Eastern Chālukyas to the Cholas throws Kalinga into relief and brings it into contact with the Cholas themselves almost with the beginning of the eleventh century. During all this period anterior to the advent of the Cholas, Kalinga occupied a place of some importance

in history, but the features of that history are not quite clear. It is from this region that one set of colonists went over to Sumatra and Java, according to Javanese tradition. The region from which their traditional founder Āji Śaka came in the first century A. D. seems indicated in the direction of Kalinga. Ptolemy mentions Palūr (On the Ganjan or Rishi Kulya river) as the starting point for overseas communication of Kalinga. Whether the Kalinga objective in overseas navigation was the country set over against it on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, or whether it went so far down as the islands, is open to doubt; but the constant references to Kalinga and arrivals therefrom in the history of Ceylon seem to lend historical colour to this far-off emigration to the eastern islands. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, referring to the kingdom of Kalinga, speaks of its capital being on the sea-shore, but does not give the name. It describes a king under the name Hēmāṅgada and makes him the lord of Mahendragiri and Mahōdadhi, the great sea. He does not give any further information in regard to Kalinga. According to certain inscriptions, the Kēsari dynasty began in the eighth century A. D., and counts four or five kings among them. According to one calculation, Yayātikēsari gets referred to the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The eastern Gangas who were one of the most influential dynasty of rulers of Orissa came into great importance in the eleventh century, and they carry their genealogy back to a little more than 300 years from the accession of their greatest ruler, Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga, whose accession took place in A. D. 1078. So, apparently, this dynasty would carry back its origin to almost the commencement of the ninth century. With this dynasty the country of Kalinga comes into full historical view.

Just about the period A. D. 1000 the rising power of the Cholas under Rāja Rāja, the Great, made itself felt in the north. He made an effective intervention in the somewhat disturbed affairs of the Eastern Chālukyas, and achieved by a stroke of policy the permanent alliance of the eastern Chālukyas with the Cholas, confirmed by a marriage alliance which was further cemented by a further marriage alliance under his son and successor Rājendra I, Gangaikonda Chola. Rāja Rāja claims conquest of Kalinga which probably meant no more than the attempt to bring the state of Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Cholas as was done in the case of the Eastern Chālukyas. Perhaps the war did not go much further; but the understanding seems to have been established more permanently when the Kalinga, Rāja Rāja, married a daughter of Rājendra, as did the eastern Chālukya Rāja Rāja. The son of the latter became the great Chola emperor under the name Kulottunga about the time when the other grandson of Rājendra, Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga, ascended the throne of Kalinga. It was

Rājendra I. that carried on a regular war of conquest against the country of Kalinga. The Cholas and the Chalukyas were for almost a century face to face on the frontiers separating them, and this frontier extended from near the Western Ghats almost at the source of the Krishna along the river till its junction with the Tungabhadra, and then in an irregular line northwards to the Vindhya mountains. Rājendra's effort was to reduce the whole of Kalinga to submission to him in order to carry on his overseas enterprise of bringing the Tamil colonies of Sumatra and the neighbourhood under his control as against the rising kingdom of Śī Bhōja in Sumatra. It is in the course of all this war that the various divisions of Kalinga came prominently into view. Having set the north-west frontier at peace his army seems to have marched into the heart of the Kōsala country which then happened to be the asylum for Brahmans fleeing for shelter from the territory subject to the onslaughts of Mahmud of Ghazni. Having taken Chakrakōṭa and Ālinagar or Sādinagar or (Yayātinagar) there, the army marched northwards subduing various other parts of Kalinga till it reached the Ganges on the southern frontiers of Mahipāla, king of northern Bengal. Therefrom it turned back, defeated the king of Bengal proper and finally overthrew the ruler of Kalinga at the junction of the Ganges with the ocean. In the meanwhile he brought up reinforcements from Kāncī, and was encamped in Rājamandri when his victorious general brought him 'the tribute of waters' from the Ganges. The joint invasion marched further north till it overthrew the king of Kalinga in his central headquarters. It was probably as a result of this invasion that the definitive treaty was concluded with Kalinga, and it was probably as one of the items of the treaty that the marriage was brought about, the outcome of which was peace for more than half of a century till Kulottunga found it necessary to go to war probably with Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga early in the twelfth century. It is in this war of Kulottunga that Kalinga gets described sometimes as comprised in three divisions, occasionally as five, and oftentimes as seven. As early as the days perhaps of Megasthenes Kalinga had been divided into three. The Gangetic Kalingam was the first division, the country probably answering to the part of Kalinga last conquered by Rājendra's general. Then follows Modokalinga of Pliny which may stand as the Bengali form of Madhya-Kalinga. Then follows the third division Maccc-Kalinga, which may be rendered perhaps as Mukhya-Kalinga, and what is known as Mukhalingam may be the Mukhya-Ka'inga-nagar, the capital of Mukhya-Kalinga which by mere phonetic decay gets worn into Mukhalingam. That kind of division seems to have continued more or less, and as was pointed out already there were other divisions such as Kosala answering to the tributary states and hill tracts, Utkala, the present

day Orissa and the narrower designation at one time of the territory of North Kalinga, the country of Tamralipti and so on. When these had been brought under one ruler, these divisions must have retained something of their individuality and must have lent colour to the variety of division implied by the kingdom being described as comprised of three, five or seven divisions. According to Rājasekhara who lived in the late ninth and the early tenth century Kalinga belonged to the eastern part, the country east of Benares, of which these separate divisions which are referable to Kalinga get mention, namely, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Tamraliptaka, Mallavartaka, Malada. Probably all these were included in the larger geographical entity Kalinga as none of the divisions referable to Kalinga are included in his southern division which is located south of Mahishmati. What obtained in the age of Rājasekhara might well have continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this division perhaps accounts for the variety of division indicated in the term Kalinga qualified by such numbers as three, five or seven.

The term Kalinga-nagara may not be a proper name and might simply stand for the capital city of Kalinga and may be identifiable with Mukhalinga which might have remained the capital till it was transferred later on to Cuttack, there being other capitals as well such as Dauli or Tosali, Yaugada, whatever that stood for, and even the old Simhapura and Kapilapura. In all probability Dantapura described by Hieun Tsang was identical with Kalinga-nagara now identifiable with Mukhalingam according to certain inscriptions. This identification may seem to militate against Kālidāsa's description of the capital of Kalinga being quite on the seashore. This need not however prove a serious difficulty. Anantavarman as the builder of Pūri as his predecessors of the Kēsari dynasty built and endowed Bhuvanēśvar, and as his own son Ananga Bṛhma I built the temple at Kōnarka. The last of the dynasty Nrisimha suffered perhaps a Muhammdan invasion, and was finally overthrown by the usurper Kapiḷendra the first Gajapati ruler who set himself up with the countenance of the Muhammdans of Bengal. This dynasty consisted only of three generations and corresponded more or less in duration to the period of the first, second and a part of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. During this period the capital seems to have been at Cuttack. Kapiḷendra exerted himself a great deal to extend the limits of the kingdom southwards, and carried it effectively to the Godavari with Rajahmandri as the outermost vice-royalty. This he was able to achieve through alliances with the Sultans of the Bāhmani kingdom. The break up of that kingdom into five, and the internal dissensions that it fell a prey to, made any further advance of the kingdom impossible in his time. His successor

Purushottama was able to carry Kalinga raids as far south as the southern Pennâr, and seems to have had a Governorship permanently as far south as Nellore and Udayagiri. When the great Vijayanagar king Krishnadêva Râja came to the throne he found the Gajapatis in occupation of all the coast territory almost down to the frontier of Madras itself. The farséeing policy of this ruler saw at a glance the dangerous character of this situation for the empire, having regard to the fact that the Gajapatis were inclined to enter readily into alliance with the Muhammadans against Vijayanagar, and to the fact that the Muhammadan states of the north were in habitual hostility to the empire. Krishna adopted the wisest course of letting the Muhammadans alone for the time being, and till he compelled the Gajapati to withdraw from the new conquests by carrying a successful war right up to the frontiers of modern Ganjam, and making the position of the capital Cuttack itself dangerous for the ruler of Orissa. He succeeded in the effort. Then the Krishna was agreed upon as the definitive boundary between the empire of Vijayanagar and the territory of the rulers of Kalinga, but it was still understood that the coast districts extending northwards from the Krishna to almost Ganjam was the coast region of Telingana and not geographically an integral part of Kalinga. When this dynasty was overthrown by Mahammadan conquest from the side of Bengal the Muhammadan territory did not extend much farther South than the Mahanadi, and then the Telingana portion was easily absorbed into the Bâhmani states chiefly that of Golconda. When the Moghuls took possession of Golconda territory, it naturally passed into their hands, and when the Nizam founded an independent state in the Dakhan it remained an integral part of his territory till it was made over to the French as the result of a subsidiary alliance. When the French in their turn were overthrown in South India it passed into the hands of England. During this last period Kalinga had no history of her own, having been absorbed into the territory of Bengal since the Muhammadan conquests under Akbar. When the decline of the Moghul empire began, the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it, and the Maharattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Mahrattas after the overthrow of the state of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

A SHORT REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF KALINGA

By PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS M.A., M.L.A.

I must first of all offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, and the organisers of this unique function for giving me the honour and privilege of attending it and reading this paper in this august assembly of learned men. The name of the historic place Mukhalingam and its neighbour Kalingapatnam is reminiscent of a great but long forgotten empire, whose culture and tradition we all inherit as the best legacy of our illustrious forefathers and the principal incentive to our future progress in our distinct cultural entity in the commonwealth of Indian races. With the relics of the later Kalinganagari round about us the pale and pensive memory hovers over vanishing centuries of Imperial Kalinga with its vast trade and territories both inland and across the ocean and its colonies on the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Islands, only to brighten up in prospects of a future equally great and noble if we care to command the manhood we have been heir to. To deserve the duties of dealing with such a past, suggestive of such a future is no small thing; and I may be excused to confess here that when some 15 days ago I received the invitation from the Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society to attend the function and read a paper, I felt half timid as to how far I deserve the honour so gracefully offered to me. Our past is still mostly in the dark, and to put life into the little fragmentary relics is not perhaps in my slender powers to achieve. Moreover seldom have I had any serious occasion to follow up the progress of the historical research in India for the last 6 or 7 years of political crisis in the country in which the prince and the peasant, the scholar and the school-boy have alike been required for the political emancipation of our fatherland. I therefore fear that I may not be quite up-to-date in some of my observations, and shall try to be more suggestive than exhaustive only with a view to give hints for future labours of historians in fields and direct probably yet uncared-for, for reasons which to discuss here, may not be quite relevant to the occasion.

In practice the history of India so long meant only the history of the Imperial Magadha and other empires of Northern India, and the history of the different kingdoms, esp., those of the South is being of late gradually developed out of small and scattered fragments. No systematic or critical history of Kalinga has ever been attempted. The book "Orissa in the Making" by Prof. Bijay Chandra Mazumdar

of Calcutta published in Oct. 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths. But before attempting to clear such misconceptions in dealing with important facts, events, and features of the history of Kalinga, which will sometimes require critical notice of tedious details, it is necessary that a running bird's-eye view of the whole course of the history of Kalinga as far as practicable should be presented as a background.

The kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamruk to mid-Ganjam on the sea coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the South, the Indian ocean was on the East. The Western boundary was however uncertain. It extended sometimes up to the Amarakantaka range in up-C.P. and included the ancient South Kosala or Mahakosala kingdom within its territories, and at times did not extend even beyond the plains of the present Mogulbund. There are periods in the history of the Kalinga kingdom when its boundaries were flung far wider in South West and North, but such periods as is yet known were few and far between.

Kalinga was a kingdom of the Aryavarta towards the South, Aryanised from upper India through Anga and Vanga. It is not however necessary to recount here the mention of Kalinga in Vedic, Sutra, Smṛti and Puranic literature, as it has been well discussed in many books and articles. Suffice it to say for the purposes of this flying narrative that such mention refers to a date not later than 7th century B. C. when Kalinga was known as a kingdom of the Aryavarta, though for a time in the beginning it was considered unsacred by the Aryans of upper India. Later on, it was thought as good as any kingdom of Northern India. It was the sacred land of Vaitarani in the Mahabharata. Bauddha Nikayas and Jatakas also mention Kalinga. Certain history of the kingdom is collected and developed from accounts left by Greek writers and Chinese travellers and various epigraphic records. It is clear from all this that the culture of Kalinga was Aryan as well as its language, unlike Dravid lands, where in spite of Aryan influence and even colonisation in later times the Dravid-language, culture and institutions still persist; and evidently the ancient culture of Kalinga has continuously developed into the present culture of the Oriya-speaking lands.

Kalinga was also famous from the earliest times for its colonial expansion and oversea trade. From before the 7th century B. C. Kalinga people colonised the coasts of Burma, Indo-China, and the East Indian Archipelego; and they had sea-borne trade both East and West at least up to China and Persia. A princess of Kalinga married Vijayasimha, who sailed with his wife to Ceylon and conquered and colonised it early in the 5th century B. C.

Between third and fourth century B. C. Kalinga was thrice conquered by the emperors of Magadha, the last of which was by Asoka so famous in the history of India as well as of Buddhism. The 1st and 2nd conquests were respectively by Mahapadma Nanda, and Chaudragupta Maurya. But these two conquests did not probably end in permanent annexation of the kingdom to Magadha, though the kings of Kalinga were each time driven away into the Jungles now represented by Orissa Garjats. Last time, after Asoka's annexation the king had to fly to Kosala where he and his family reigned as independent monarchs. Three corresponding dynasties—perhaps belonging to one continuous family—calling themselves Ailas or Airas have accordingly been heard of, the last of which was the dynasty of Cetarāja Aila, who came out from Kosala to declare independence in Kalinga after the decline of the Mauryas of Magadha. The famous Kalinga emperor Khāravela of Hathigumpha inscription of Udayagiri near Bhubanasvar in the Puri District is the 3rd king of the Ceta dynasty.

Khāravela made Kalinga an imperial power and commanded extensive dominions both in Northern and Southern India, and had sea borne trade even with Persia. Probably he had also colonies in Burma and Further India and established trade relations beyond the Eastern seas. It is not clearly known whether he was a Hindu or Jaina, but he had equal respect and treatment for both. He performed a Rājasuya Sacrifice, and that year made a full remission of revenue. During his time art and learning flourished in Kalinga, and he made many rock-cut caves and dwellings for holy men, and gifts of villages to Brahmanas. Before he thought of coming out in yearly expeditions of his vast conquests extending from the Punjab to Pandya and Nasik to Magadha, he had rebuilt the palace probably in an imperial fashion, and for supplying water to it made a canal from the Bhārgavi to Chilka lake. Last of all in right orthodox fashion, he spent his last years as a Sannyasi in the hills of Udayagiri where the two-storied rock-cut palace still stands to bear testimony to it. These are some of the statements and indications of the Hathigumpha Inscription. Let imagination now make her own inferences as to what the empire was then like, how from the beginnings of those rock-cut caves and palaces evolved in course of centuries the distinct

Orissan art of later times in stages of assimilation and development, and how again the spirit of cosmopolitan faith and religious toleration in its full flourish made the Oriya of much later centuries colonise Ossa or Pegu in Burma and give the stamp of art and culture to other States in that land of legends across the ocean.

The capital of Kalinga was all along situated in the Puri District. Tosali the present Dhauli, at the place where the river Daya branches out from the Bhârgavi was headquarters of the Maurya Viceroy of Kalinga, and some distance towards the West was the Kalinganagari of Khâravêla on the Daya river Tamralipti and Chilka were the principal ports of Kalinga which ended in the South in mid- or south-Ganjam beyond which between Kalinga and Āndhra lay on the coast a stretch of ordinarily impassable hills and forests inhabited perhaps by wild tribes, and in this tract later on developed independent kingdoms for some centuries.

For a period of four or five centuries after Khâravêla nothing definite about Kalinga has yet come to light. During the days of the imperial Guptas of Magadha, Kalinga decidedly lay from Midnapur to Mid-Ganjam, and kingdoms named Kottura and Erandapalla had evolved in the forest lands on the sea-board between Kalinga and Andhra. But apart from these political considerations the history of Kalinga during this period presents a very momentous aspect of Indian life and culture. This is the period during which the famous Nāgārjuna of Kānchi converted Kalinga into the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and this is the period which witnessed the advent of King Indradyumna of Mālava (Malwa) to Puri, the place of Buddha's tooth relic, and the standing compromise between the Mahayana Buddhism and the older Vaisnavism into the Neo-Vaisnavic Hinduism of Jagannath which has since remained so comprehensively potent in influencing the all-Indian life and culture. Puri or Dantapuri of the Bauddhas which had been a famous place of Buddhistic culture and pilgrimage and was well known even in Greece and China, was thus made the centre of Neo-Hindu faith, with a Kalingan grain in it, and remained a standing monument of Indian religious life of cosmopolitan tolerance. It has still remained the most important place of pilgrimage of Asiatics both Hindu and Bauddha, and here it is that the Hindu so heinously ridden by the despicable institution of caste finds himself in a holy atmosphere where caste and untouchability are discarded in practice, thus setting an example to the whole humanity how the culture of soul and nothing else is the basis of the true and natural religion of man.

The political history however, towards the end of this period ran in a different channel. This may be due to the fact that the Kalingas were so religiously minded as to neglect politics, or to the

revival of Brahmanism giving rise to a new life and virility under which many an old kingdom fell or broke to pieces to create a change in the political map of India. The kingdom of Kalinga got disrupted. Tamralipti became an independent kingdom, and the Utkalas from Karnasuvarna conquered the land up to North Ganjam and overran the whole territory by the end of the 6th century A. D. Sometime before this the Odas (Skt. Udras) had emerged from the forests between Kalinga and Kosala, and established a kingdom in Puri and North Ganjam named Kongoda or Kalingoda. The name of Jagannath had long turned into Odisa (the lord of the Odas) which in later times during the Mahamedan days gave its name to the whole of the Kalinga kingdom. The expelled and homeless king of Kalinga had accordingly retired Southwards and set himself up with all his once glorious paraphernalia of name and tradition in the southern extremity of the Ganjam District, i. e. this Mukhalingam which remained the capital of that contracted and somewhat dislocated Kalinga till the Eastern Gangas extended their conquest into the very heart of the mainland, and established their capital in the 12th century at a place really reminiscent of the palmy days of the Kalinga of ancient times.

In the meantime the Guptas of South Kosala inspired by the Saiva faith of the then Magadhan school of Brahmanism had come, conquered and established themselves as Tri-Kalingadhipatis or the lords of the three Kalingas, i. e. Utkala, Kangoda and Kōsala, or as some say, the Kalinga of Southern Ganjam, which is doubtful. This family promulgated Saiva cult and culture with the vim and vehemence of zealots, and the temples and institutions of Bhuvanēśvar have preeminently remained as the standing monuments of the dynasty, bearing mute but significant testimony to the new aspects and elements which were then introduced into the Kalingan art and life.

The name Kalinga, however, which was thus for a time revived in the main land of its birth and breeding finally vanished under the pressure of a concourse of other names ready for use and actually long in use. And as I have already hinted during the Mahamedan period when the vassal feudatory Raja had to remain at Khurda in the Puri District, which had long been known by the name of Odisa on account of Jagannath, the name Orissa was naturally fixed for the ancient land inheriting the culture, Tradition, history, language, religion, and institutions of the vast and glorious Kalinga, which was at a time 'the gem of the Indian Coast' as well as the 'mistress of the Indian Ocean'.

I have narrated the whole story as a flying account, but to those that find interest in historical research some of my statements might appear to be mere assumptions, and therefore call for explanation and critical investigation in detail. I am not quite sure if such a

treatment will be quite fitting to the occasion. But as in narrating the history of Kalinga we have often to tread on quick-sand, the subject being mostly based, on the revelations of facts and events from chambers still almost in the dark, lost in the dim haze of remote antiquity. I think it cannot be considered out of place, if I venture a critical examination of some of the points I myself have raised, by way of referring to some v ry sticky misconceptions almost common among the historians of Kalinga.

Boundaries of Kalinga.

Scholars with the exception of a very few like Prof. K. P. Jayswal generally take it for granted that from the very earliest times the kingdom of Kalinga extended upto the Godavari river if not further south, and that the land from south Ganjam to the Godavari was in Kalinga. But this is an uncritical assumption. On the contrary, till after the time of Hieun Tsang's visit the coast land between Kalinga and Āndhra was not easily passable and in still earlier times, this portion of the coast was full of forests and hills standing on the very beach, inhabited by wild beasts, and perhaps no man's land.

This Mukhalingam again and the port of Kalingapatnam in its neighbourhood are somewhat responsible for this misconception. Scholars are ordinarily apt to connect these names with the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. True it is that during the days of the Eastern Gangas the capital of Kalinga is found in these parts of the country, but was so only to be abandoned, as I have said, after the Gangas could find a place in the midland of Orissa, the real seat of the ancient Kalinga kingdom. For, from the days of Anantavarman Chodaganga i.e. late in the 12th century the seat of the kingdom has been cosistently in Mid-Orissa, though the kingdom nevertheless extended upto the Godavari in the south and sometimes even beyond that river. The fact is, as I have already hinted, that for some centuries after the king of Kalinga was driven from his homeland, the family settled in a small principality round about this Mukhalingam as its capital. As is natural, the king thus driven away by bad fortune called his own new capital Mukhya (Mukha) Kalinga Nagara and had also set up his fort of Dantapura, remnants of which still remain in these parts as Mukhalingam and Dantavarakota. They also called their port Kalingapatna. But even that grafted principality, so to say, did not ordinarily extend very much into the present Vizagpatam District, for the southern gates of it were not only perpetually threatened by the Andhra and Tamil kings, but the Principality was in course of time actually occupied by the Tamil Gangas, whose

passion for conquering Kalinga was fully gratified in later times by the conquest of the mainland up to the Ganges.

Let us now therefore examine the point in detail.

Asoka's time (3rd century B.C.)

Asoka's inscriptions of Kalinga never indicate any extent of the kingdom much beyond Samāpā (present Jaugada in north Ganjam) a little beyond which were evidently the unreclaimed forest tribes. Prof. B. C. Mazumdar of Calcutta ventures the theory based on no reasonable grounds ever given by him that the capital of Kalinga, in those days was near Samāpā in the Ganjam District, i. e. even to the south of Samāpā, and not at Tosali, the very seat of the Asokan Viceroyalty. In spite of off-hand statements like this based perhaps on sheer predisposition, it is clear that Kalinga in those days did not extend much beyond the present Rśikulya river, if it extended beyond that river at all.

Khāravela's time (2nd century B.C.)

The Hathīgumpha inscription indicates that Khāravela did not approach the Āndhra king Śātakarni, in other words the Āndhra kingdom through the coastal lands. To reach the Āndhras he had to take the land route westward. The headquarters of the Śātavāhanas or Śātakarnis was near the Western Ghats, and not on the east coast, their original home and the principal part of their kingdom, where perhaps they had little to fear from their powerful Kalinga neighbours. But nevertheless it would not have been easy for Khāravela to reach the Āndhra Emperor across the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Had there been an easily passable route on the seaboard, Khāravela must have attacked the Āndhra kingdom that way. At least that would have been more strategic. Āndhra kings again, as I have suggested, would not have thus left their Eastern territories at the mercy of the powerful Kalingas had there been means of easy communication through the coastal strip of land. If Srikalulam on the east coast be the original capital of Āndhra, as stated by Pliny after Megasthenes then its removal to Paithan also indicates safety of the borders on Kalingadesa.

Samudragupta's time (4th century A.D.)

About 500 years later there is another landmark in Indian history, i. e. Samudragupta's conquests. In his study of the Allahabad Inscription Prof. R. D. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University agrees with M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in locating both Kottura and Erandapalla in southern Ganjam near the coast. Mr. G. Ramdas slightly differs

from him, but nevertheless locates Kottura in the same region. His supposition about Kottura being the headquarters of the Āndhra conqueror of Kalinga, the Mahendra of Pisthapura, rests on a superannuated grammatical quibble on the word Giri in the inscription and is therefore unnecessary to discuss here. But even taking that supposition to be correct, it proves all the more the originally wild character of the land between Ganjam and Vizagpatam. But Mr. Ramdas falls into misapprehension as he does not see that Kalinga in the Gupta days was never included in 'Dakṣiṇāpatha' as distinct from 'Āryāvarta'. It must be borne in mind that the Allahabad Inscription does not propose to give the exact route of conquest of Samudragupta. It groups together the kings and kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the kings only of Āryāvarta separately. Samudragupta's expedition lay through parts of Mahākāntara, i. e. the extensive forest lands lying south of the Vindhya. Probably this was the remnant of the ancient Dandaka forest. This vast forest land crossed by the great hero, lay at a time from the Santāl pergunnas and Bundelkhand to the Western Garjats of Orissa upto Bastar, and the great conqueror either did not enter Kalinga, or more probably came to Mahākāntara and Kōsala from Kalinga; but Kalinga not being included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha in Gupta days has not been mentioned in the group of kingdoms thereof. The name of the Kalinga king might have been included in the group of the kings of the Āryāvarta mentioned later in the inscription. Mr. Ramdas again puts Kurala of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the same inscription in the Puri District, and cites for his reason an Oriya word 'Kurali' which he says is still used in the Puri District in the sense of 'many people making sounds together.' I have myself never come across such a word in Oriya vocabulary of Puri, nor is his location of Kurala convincing in any other way. Dr. Bhandarkar's location of Kurala near Jayantinagara is however more probable. The old fort of Kulada and the village Kurala about 25 miles from it, and both in Ganjam mals might be investigated in this connection. Kurala is perhaps a variation of Kulōda, meaning respectable Oda. Mals of Ganjam and Vizag might have been included in the Sonapur tract near Jayantigurh where Dr. Bhandarkar locates Kurala. But here the contention may arise as to whether kingdoms of the Dakṣiṇāpatha itself were not given in order of sequence. In that case Kurala may be put beyond Pisthapura or north west, west of Kottura beginning from Vizag mals upwards. It is significant to note here in this connection that Kottura too has been mentioned after the Āndhra and Pisthapura. The probability is that Samudragupta did not pass on to the Āndhra country by the coast, and this indicates want of proper coastal communication from Kalinga to Andhra Des. Local geographical conditions may be

studied closely also to show that near Mandara the highest peak of the Mahendra chain is so close to the sea and the coastal land is so new that one is inclined to conclude that those parts were probably impassable in early times and were reclaimed more by Kōśalas who in later times extended their territories from Sonapur in the heart of the Oda land as capital to Ganjam and Vizag mals and even to Bastar, than by Āndhras and Kalingas, whose means of communication was inland through parts of Kosala.

Kālidās (probably 5th century A. D.)

Kālidās who is perhaps rightly supposed to have poetically worked out his Raghu's conquests on suggestions taken from Harisēna's composition recorded in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta with probably some admixture of his own knowledge of Purāṇic and actual geography, lays his Raghu's route through Utkala and Kalinga. Either it was the same route as Samudragupta actually took, or Kālidās intentionally comes a little out of the forest for fear of lacking direct knowledge of places and circumstances for an engaging and lifelike description. His Utkala seems to have extended to the east of Mahākāntara or perhaps includes a portion of it, as well as some tracts now covered by Birbhum, Bankura, West Burdwan, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Midnapore, i. e. the kingdom of which Karnasuvarna has been known to be capital more than a century later. Kalinga begins beyond the Kapisa (the modern Kasai river of Midnapore) crossed by Raghu by means of elephants, probably supplied by Utkalas, who had forests full of elephants within their territories. But nowhere is it indicated that Kalinga extends beyond Ganjam. Kālidās's Mahendra seems to be Mahendra of Kōśala. This also proves that Kalinga extended not beyond Mid-Ganjam. In the 6th Canto of Raghuvarṇa Kālidās describes the king of Kalinga as 'lord of Mahendra as well as the deep'. Mahendra is the name generally applied to the northern portion of the Eastern Ghats, and the mountains of Orissa are still known by the name of Mahendra-mala. The capital of Kalinga was in the Puri District near Chilka, and this fits in well with the description of Kalinga given by Kālidās. The capital of Kalinga was on the sea beach; this should not at once carry us, as it has carried Mr. Mazumdar and many others to a place far south right into the Āndhra land, in spite of so many other circumstances clearly pointing to the contrary.

Foreign writers:

Ptolemy in his Geography gives clear indication of Kalinga extending from North Ganjam towards the Ganges. He says that there was a tract of land between Koddura and Khryse, i. e. some

portion of the South Ganjam Coast, which was being passed over by all ships from the south, there being no convenient coasting station. Kodgura may well be identified with Kottura of Samudragupta's conquest, and Ptolemy's Paloura near Khryse with the present Palur in the North Ganjam coast. Thus the indication is evident that the whole of South- and Mid-Ganjam coast was very uninviting for traders. The land as I have said, was peopled by forest tribes between Kalinga and Āndhra and was in all probability nominally a part of the South Kōsala Kingdom, the capital of which was inland among the mountains of the Mahendra Chain.

Hieun Tsang, the Chinese Traveller.

By Hieun Tsang's time under unavoidable circumstances Kalinga had removed to South Ganjam; but even then the way from Kangoda to the New Kalinga does not seem well passable. The traveller had to go to Kalinga from Kangoda through Kōsala, i. e. by a route much inland.

It may now be safely concluded that in ancient times Kalinga did not extend beyond Mid-Ganjam; and the way from Kalinga to Āndhra land was through Kōsala, whose king, and not that of Kalinga or Āndhra, could have been the nominal lord of the coastal wilds of South Ganjam, where at times temporary forest kingdoms rose and fell. The present Estate of Manjuśa (Mandasa) which means a box protected from all sides, and the ancient kingdom of Kotturu which means a new village, and Erandapalla, which means two villages are all situate in these tracts. And the meaning of their names may be noted in this connection.

Location of Kalinganagari and the capital of Kalinga.

Mukhalingam is identified with Kalinganagari, the capital of Kalinga and creates a general predisposition, so to say, among historians who are thus somewhat saved from the rigour of their almost groping investigation by locating the capital of Kalinga at Mukhalingam from the very earliest times of the kingdom to its extinction. Pliny mentions Dandagula as the capital of Kalinga. Megasthenes once names it Parthalis. This Dandagula is Dantapura mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas and the Digha Nikāya. Ceylonese Pali works explain the name as the city of the Tooth-Relic. Hsuen Tsang says that this place had a Stupa with a gem on its crown visible like a star at night from Cāritra (Ca-li-ti-lu) the port of the kingdom he calls Uca. Cāritra has been proved by the late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra in his memorable work on Konarka to have been a port on the site of the present ruins of Konarka, 22 miles from Puri. In a clear evening I have myself seen from Konarka the present Temple of

Jagannath at Puri clean painted on the horizon in the bright Western sky. Dantapura is again undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath in which name the Buddha is worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. As is well known, there is something hidden in the image of Jagannath which nobody is ever allowed to see or touch. With sevenfold silk cloth in hand a man blindfolded is made to take it out from the old and put it in the new image every 12 years when the image is changed. This secret something is nothing but the tooth-relic of the Buddha mentioned above. This tooth-relic must have been brought or sent to the capital of the kingdom long before the time of Asoka. Even Simhapura, the place of Kalinga King Simhabahu in the days of Vijayasimha, points to present Puri. The part of the name Pura is significant here. Perhaps 'Simhapura', the city of Simha (lion), was changed into 'Dantapura', the city of the Tooth.

Parthalis is the Greek variation of Patthara (Skt. prastara), and Pandit Krupasindhu Misra suggests that Eka-prastara (Pali—Ekapatthara) which was the name of Tosali or present Dhauli in the Puranas has been mentioned as Parthalis by Megasthenes. For, during Asoka's days and sometime before it the capital of Kalinga was Tosali, near the present Bhuvaneshvar, about which there is little difference of opinion among historians.

Then the Cēta Dynasty which became independent in Kalinga after the Mauryas had their capital in Kalinganagari which was situate on the Port of Chilka. Mr. Mazumdar, like many of his predecessors, locates it in Mukhalingam, but it is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the capital was in the present Puri District not much distant from the place where the inscription is found, and besides as I have said no trace of Kalinga is found near Mukhalingam in those days. Khāavela has been said in the inscription to have dug a canal from the garden of Tosali to his own Palace-lands—Tanasuliyabātā panādim nagaram pavēsa(ya)ti, is the reading of Prof. K. P. Jayswal. But the correct reading in the line is not 'Tanasuliya' but 'Tausuliya'. The half horizontal stroke of the letter in the corroded inscription makes it difficult for Mr. Jayswal to distinguish between 'na' and 'u'. In Kalingan variety of Magadhi 'Tosali' should be 'Tausali' or 'Tausuli' as is well proved by the present phonetic variation of the Oriya language; and the word 'Naara' for 'Nāgara' is still used in Orissa in the sense of King's palace alone and in no other sense. The river Daya according to the local tradition was originally an artificial canal dug out by Rṣi Dadhici to supply water to a place in bad want of it. Tosali which had been the capital of Kalinga in pre-Asokan days, and was the seat of the Maurya Viceroy as well, might naturally have been shunned by the Cēta

family probably as inauspicious, as it was full of sad memory for the Ailas of Kalinga. The seat of the capital was therefore removed to some place towards the Chilka Lake into which the canal from the river Bhargavi, which was flowing by the garden of Tosali, had to be made for the convenience of the people of the new Palace. Probably the canal, needed only for the new palace, was given an outlet in the Chilka Lake, which was in those days not very far from the new capital. Rivers Daya and Bhargavi gradually silt up the bed of Chilka, and within memory of man the waters of the Lake have receded more than a mile forming arable land on the coast. This silting up of Chilka has now been a problem before the Government in remedying the present devastating floods of the Puri District.

Now in connection with the capital of ancient Kalinga, we find four names, viz., Dantapur, Parthalis, Tosali, and Kalinganagari. Let us see if there are any traces of them in Puri District. Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath; and Tosali, Dhauli near Bhuvanesvar, as conclusively proved by M.R.Ry. Haraprasad Sastri and other scholars. There are again two villages some eight or ten miles from Puri, and about as much from Chilka named Koranga and Pateli with Kalingesvari as the village Goddess. For about 3 centuries and a half these names have been officially discarded by a Raja of Puri named Ramacandra Dev, for Vijaya Ramacandrapur and Pratap Ramacandrapur, two Brahman Sasanas on the Localities set up by the Raja. But in common parlance the old names still persist. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kodanga, the Oriya Phonetic variation of Kalinga, as I shall presently explain, is found in the word Koranga; and kinship of Parthalis may well be traced in Pateli. The name of the Goddess, Kalingesvari (Goddess of Kalinga) is also particularly suggestive.

Tri-Kalinga and Tailanga.

Another misconception is due to the information recorded by ancient European writers, e. g., Pliny after Megasthenes, who in his description of India mentions 3 Kalingas, i. e., Gangaridae Galingae, Mado Galingae, and Macco Galingae. Much speculation is ventured by scholars on these three terms, and three distinct Kalinga Kingdoms with their respective location from the Ganges to the Godavari have been made out of them. Macco Galingae or Magolinga has been identified with Mukhalingam as its later phonetic derivative; and three Kalingas taken together are formed into Tri-Kalinga from which the derivation of Tailanga, the Sanskritised name of the Telugu Country has also been presumed. But I am simply surprised that the word Mukhalingam has not yet been made to represent mun- (Tamil—three) Kalingas, which would give rise to still further fancies

in starting hypotheses. For certain it is that no orthodox Andhra philologist will ever think of deriving the native word Telugu (Tenugu) from Sanskrit 'Tri-Kalinga', or even Tailanga, which latter word is a mere impostor, so to say, used pedantically for the word Telugu probably by some Sanskrit loving Pandits to whom all over India all indigenous words are slang.

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar again goes further in his tangential boldness in this connection. He explains *Modo-Kalingae* as the Greek variation of *Mudu-Kalinga* (Telugu, *mudu* being three), and attempts to find the term applied as such to the *Kalinga-Ratta* (Kalinga Colony) of Burma Coast centuries before the Christian Era. This '*mudu*' he fancies was somehow translated into '*tri*' in course of centuries, and from this *Tri-Kalinga* came the word *Tailanga*. This in his opinion speaks two ways. First it proves three Kalingas from long before the Christian Era, and secondly, it signifies that the language and culture of Kalinga were throughout Andhra or Telugu. But the monstrosity of this very ingenious supposition is obvious. Place-names, set for centuries among a people, esp., a vast people like the Kalingas and those of many other kingdoms of India for the matter of that, are impossible of being thus translated and newly forced into use, nor is it ever proved that the Telugu '*mudu*' took its present form centuries before Christian Era, when old Tamil was the common tongue of all the peoples of the Dravid and Andhra land.

Megasthenes recorded the names not of kingdoms but of peoples as he heard them said. His record is nothing like critical geography. But it may however be supposed that more than one Kalingas were known.* Probably these three names represented peoples that migrated into Kalinga for settlement in different waves, or included peoples of colonies of Kalinga on the Burma coast or other distant lands, which bore the name of Kalinga.

Kalingas had also trade relations with Ballabhi, Pātāla, and the Persian coast. The intercourse was common and frequent. Prof. K. P. Jayswal's reading of the Hathigumpha Inscription makes it clear that not only the Kalingas had trade in Persian coast, but Khāravela married a princess of Vazira West of the land of the Madrás beyond the present Afghan border. People of Madra and Persia, called the latter Magois by the Greeks, might well have migrated to Kalinga for settlement. *Kapila Samhita*, as well as *Bhāgavata* and *Padmapuran* make mention of *Sakadvipi* (Persian) Brahmins coming on invitation and settling in *Candrabhaga* in Puri District for worshipping the sun. Pandit Krupasindhu Misra has conclusively proved it on Puranic and other authorities. The name Magois and the ancient name of the Muggs of Arakan and other parts

of Burma should therefore be investigated in connection with the word Macco-Kalingae. And a Madra settlement in Kalinga, or even possibly a Kalinga Settlement in Madra might have been responsible for the term Modo-Kalinga as well. It is, however, very cogent here to note that in the 9th Canto of *Blisna Parva* of *Mahabharata* both Kalinga and Madra Kalinga find mention among the kingdoms of the *Aryāvarta*, and another Kalinga has been counted in the group in which *Cinas* and *Kambojas* find their place. They are classed among peoples—probably non-Indian in origin, *Mlecchas*—of lands to the East. This well indicates Kalingas in the Burma Coast, which might also have been *Megasthenes'* Macco-Kalinga. Again the name *Modo-Kalinga* is significant, and Greek *Modo* for Indian *Madra* is quite intelligible.

What I mean to suggest on the whole is that the explanation of *Modo-* and *Macco-Kalingas* of *Megasthenes* should be based on a thorough understanding of the entire situation, and not got up to fit in with a preconceived notion clinging round the idea of *Tri-Kalinga* fancifully molten or cast into *Tailinga* or *Telugu* country, which was never within the natural boundaries of Kalinga, but was *Āndhra* land with *Āndhra* culture, tradition and language.

The word *Tri-Kalinga* round which so much is built finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of the *Kōsala Guptas'* conquest of *Orissa*. These *Kōsala Guptas*, it may be presumed, considered it glorious to call themselves *Tri-Kalingadhipati* as Kalinga by that time had been broken up into three different kingdoms, viz., *Utkala*, *Kangoda*, and *Kōsala* itself or the Principality of Kalinga in South Ganjam. For there is every probability that *Kōsalas* considered themselves a part of Kalinga when annexed, and a Kalinga when independent. The kingdom was surely a part of Kalinga very often. The *Airas* of *Tosali* driven by *Asoka* went there to reign as independent sovereigns. It was included in the territories of the *Cēta Dynasty* who came from *Kosala* to Kalinga to declare independence against the *Mauryas*. *Kōsala* is therefore not counted in the conquests of *Kharavela*, though *Mosala* or *Musika Nagara* beyond *Kōsala* has been distinctly mentioned. *Kūrma Purana* states that *Amarakantaka* hills in which the *Narmada* rises, were included in Kalinga. All this may well indicate that *Kōsala Guptas* had not conquered the then forest Principality of Kalinga before they called themselves *Tri-Kalingadhipati*. This term *Tri-Kalinga*, moreover, is never proved to have come into common use, and bold hypothetical speculations over the word therefore are unwarranted.

Disruption of Kalinga.

Here it may not be irrelevant to give a detailed description of the disruption of Kalinga. During the early centuries of the Christian

Ere the Āndhras became the Imperial power in India, and with the Sungas in Magadha a tendency for Hindu revival arose. Kalinga was the seat of Buddhist relic before the Mauryas. There has yet been found no epigraphic records to show that Buddhism came to Kalinga before the Maurya conquest. But certain it is from Hathigumpha inscription that the Nandas had taken away Jain images from Kalinga which Khâravêla had to recover. The Buddha of those days cannot be supposed to have lagged behind the Jain. Tooth Relic at Puri therefore may safely be presumed to have long preceded Asoka. The Tooth Relic had by this time a long and sacred tradition behind it, and it was undoubtedly in the charge and keeping of the king. And partly on account of the rise of the Āndhras, and partly on account of the revival of Hinduism the eyes of all India were turned towards the Kalinga kingdom. In about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Nâgârâjuna of Kânci came to Puri to convert into the newly started Mahayân school of Buddhism, both the king and the people of Kalinga, who had probably showed a tendency in favour of the new Hinduism, or were still staunch about the orthodox Magadhan school of Buddhism called Hinayâna. In the Tibetan records is stated that Nâgârjuna converted the king of Oṣiṣa. In all probability Kōśalas who had by that time removed from Sripur in C. P. to Sambalpur tracts, which had long been inhabited by a tribe called Oḍas (Skt. Udras), took advantage of the shaky position of the Kalinga Throne, came out with their Oḍa legions, and took possession of the much coveted Tooth Relic, the very key of the then religious life of India. The legend of Indradyumna, which I shall narrate presently in another connection, might well have some relation with this incident. Since then Jagannath was known as Oḍiṣa or the Lord of the Oḍas, round about whom in after times developed the kingdom of Kalingoda or Kangoda.

The other important factor in this scramble over the supremacy of Kalinga was Utkal, which originally lay between the kingdoms of Gaya and Kalinga and contiguous to both. Buddha literature clearly mentions the fact that Utkalas were coming to Gaya with merchandise loaded in carts for purposes of trade. These Utkalas first emerge into clear historical view during the days when their capital was Karnasuvarna, and their king Sasanka of Sailodbhava family overran the whole of Kalinga and probably annexed for a time the entire territory including North Ganjam. Kangoda which had been a separate kingdom was also conquered.

Hiuen Tsang finds three different kingdoms in old Kalinga i. e., Tamralipti in the North, Uca or Utkal in the middle, and kangoda or Kongada in the South. The name Kalinga which had by that time removed to the forest lands of Chicacole has been named separately. In his Uca the traveller mentions no king or capital but

only speaks of the flourishing port of Calitalu (caritra). The newly acquired territory of Kalinga by the Utkalas of Karnasuvarna was not yet perhaps treated by the Utkalas as a natural part of their own kingdom, and formed into a viceroyalty, or a separate vassal kingdom with some name which the traveller pronounces Uca. To identify the word Uca either with Utkala or Oda is rather hasty for a historian, for it was still considered a part of Kalinga like Kangoda and Kōsala long after the time of Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the end of the 8th century came the Guptas of Kōsala with Saiva faith and semi-fanatic spirit of Brahmanism. The second king, Yayati Mahabhavagupta made Jajpur his head quarters in the new territory and wanted to perform a sacrifice (Yajna) there in right orthodox Brahmanic fashion. The old Kalinga Brahmanas now called in Orissa Mastans (Mahastana meaning a place of Viṣṇu or Mahayāna worship) and the Oda or other Brahmanas of Kōsala, who now abound under various names in Ganjam, Sambalpur and Garjats (Native States) of Orissa, were considered unfit for sacrificial purposes, and Yayati had to bring down 10 thousand Brahmanas from Kanyakubja, whose descendants now go by the name of Utkala Brahmanas. The indigenous Brahmanas of the land were so contemptuously treated by the new fanatics that even now the word 'Kodanga' (Kalinga) is used by the Brahmanas of Puri to their own men in the sense of wanting in manners or ceremony; and though Kalinga or Mastan Brahmanas still hold almost complete possession of the temple of Jagannath, they have been nowhere else in Orissa in any way connected with a temple. And the Pandas of Jagannath temple are treated by the Utkala Brahmanas practically as Non-Brahmanas, and a significant custom has arisen to class all Brahmanas worshipping in public temples as of a very low class.

About Colonisation.

Another misconception though not quite of a like nature centres round the legend regarding the colonisation of Ceylon, where as I have referred to the first historical or semi-historical mention of Kalinga is to be found. There is more than one version of the story, but the one I mainly adopt here is from the Cambridge History of India, recently published, which is presumed to have given a version critically authentic.

Vijaya Simha was a prince of the Lata country, and he married the princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabahu. Prince Vijaya was somehow banished from his fatherland, and with his wife sailed to Ceylon in 5th century B. C. and became king there. This is the first Aryan settlement of Ceylon. Lata in this story is a name which is responsible for various geographical speculations. Bengali historians

generally identify it with Rādha or West Bengal. Others locate it in Gujrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon—one from Kalinga and another from the Gujrat side. But the Rādha of West Bengal first finds mention in the Bhavīśya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D. Eleven hundred years before that it was in all probability an unreclaimed forest land included in the ancient Dandaka. Lādha mentioned in Jain Ayaranga Sutta which is often cited in this connection has neither been critically dated nor properly located. Nor were the people of this Radha sea-faring, considering that the sea-board from the Ganges to Ganjam was Kalinga. That Radha is West Bengal is therefore out of the question. That Lata or Lala is Gujrat too a rather far-fetched, nor is its antiquity conclusively proved.

Lata, Lala or Radha are but variations of Prakṛta Ratta (Skt. Rastra) representing a land newly colonised, reclaimed, and organised into a kingdom. There was Kalinga Ratta in Burma Coast. This is one of the earliest Rattas ever mentioned, Colonel Gerini finds in his studies in Ptolemy's Geography that Aryans of Northern India established their colonies in coasts of Burma and Farther India as early as 7th century B. C. by driving away the Dravidians who had been earlier settlers in those lands. And the colony of the Kalingas in Burma was called Kalinga Ratta as has been stated by Prof. Mazumdar himself. This Ratta had probably a royal family transplanted from Kalinga, and in matrimonial relations with the royal family of the parent Kalinga of the mainland.

The legendary lore of Puri abounds in events like this matrimony beyond the ocean of merchants and men of royal family. For instance, one legend gives that a prince was enamoured of a princess beyond the seas of whom he happened to hear from his merchants. The prince sailed in search of her, was ship-wrecked on the way and was stranded in an island full of earth which was really gold. The prince then made bricks of that gold-earth, and when he was rescued put those bricks in the ship. The crew and the captain got scent of the character of those bricks, and cunningly left the prince in a desert island. After many ups and downs the prince was saved, found the land of the princess, secured and married her, and returned home, where afterwards he found out the faithless merchant and executed him after getting back the gold bricks. This and like legends well speak of matrimonial relations of Orissan royal family of ancient times with families in lands beyond the ocean and the golden brick may also indicate Burma Coast, which is called Suvārnabhūmi (land of gold) in our ancient literature.

Some forms of Vijaya Simha legend speak of Magadha and other kingdoms which Vijaya travelled. In Burma the Kalingas named their contiguous kingdom Utkala (Utkala) as observed by Mr. Mazumdar. Many other kingdoms, towns, cities in Burma bear names of Indian kingdoms, towns, and cities—a practice common among many colonising people, and is perhaps natural. This well explains Vijaya's travel in kingdoms bearing Indian names. Or it may be that such additions to the legend are later and therefore discarded in critical history.

Character of Kalinga Culture.

Historians often labour to find that Kalingas throughout their history were a Dravidian people, of Dravidian culture and Language, and were in all respects akin to the Andhras, of whom they may be considered a branch, so to say. Mr. Mazumdar clearly puts it that when the Aryanised Utkalas and Udras poured into the coastal strip of present Orissa, the Kalingas bodily removed themselves to the southern portion of their kingdom with their king, culture, tradition, language and everything to fuse smoothly with their Āndhra kinsmen in the south. They settled in Tailāṅga, which had been the main Tri-Kalinga territory. But as I have already said, and as Mr. Venkatrangaya has recently proved it in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. III, No. 1, that Tailāṅga or Telugu (Tenugu) is the native name of which the Sanskrit synonym is Āndhra and the vernacular word came to be applied to the land, language etc., after the 11th century A. D. with the use of vernacular literature, and the word has nothing to do with Kalinga or any of its variants.

From about the 7th century B. C. or even earlier, i.e., from the days of the Vedic Sutras downwards, Kalinga has been a kingdom of the Āryāvarta of which it is the last settlement through Anga and Vanga. True it is that in early Āryan literature Anga, Vanga and Kalinga, and esp., the latter two have been despised to prove that they were in the process of reclamation and settlement. Here it must be borne in mind that there is no ethnological division like Arya or Dravid land in India. Āryāvarta is as full of Dravid blood as the Dravid land itself. It is culture, language, and other allied institutions that make for the distinction. Andhras and Kalingas are in this sense distinct from each other. Āryan naturalisation succeeded completely to the southern limit of Kalinga, beyond which it practically failed, for the concentrated Dravid culture in the south beyond Kalinga was in its robustness and vitality too much for the Aryans to replace. Hence even now the natural limit of Kalinga and Āndhra is to be traced in border land where Āryan and Dravid languages meet, for language is the main vehicle of human culture.

So far as is known the Āndhras have had a culture more robust and a history more glorious than the Kalingas. They were for centuries the Imperial power in India. Orthodox Puranas have counted their Emperors among Dynastic Kātriya kings of Bharata-varṣa. Mahabharata at least once mentions one Āndhra among the kingdoms of Aryavarta. But nothing can lead to the conclusion that culture and language of Āndhra have not remained Dravid in the main. To mix them with those of Kalinga with convenient hypotheses to facilitate preconceived conclusions is not what should be expected of any historian.

Mr. Mazumdar particularly more than any one else has a peculiar Dravid bias and he tries to make out that Khāravela was a Dravidian in culture. The very name Khāravela he twists in Tamil to mean 'man with a spear'. He discards the explanation of the name to indicate 'king with salt in abundance in his coast'. By 'khāra' he understands saltpetre which according to him is inauspicious. But one would expect him to have been acquainted with the common vocabulary of Puri, the home of Khāravela. Khāra in Puri still stands for salt used on ceremonial occasions, and means salt in some very homely idioms. Salt was besides in olden days a rare thing in inland country. Even so late as 17th century A. D. a Brahman was granted a village by a Raja of Sambalpur tracts for making a present of pure salt. People inland were otherwise using impure salt-earth. Thus Khāravela is an Aryan name; and like Suddhodana which means 'good rice', it stood for 'coast full of salt'. Even so early as in the days of Vijaya the name of the king of Kalinga was Simhabahu, evidently an Aryan name.

Clear it is from the Hathigumpha Inscription that Khāravela learnt to read and write in his youth. Reading and writing in Dravid language were unknown in those days. Besides from at least the days of Asoka Kalinga became a seat of learning so far as distinct history is concerned. Puri had been long before Asoka an important place for Bauddha and Jaina culture as has already been said. The words 'Tausuliya', 'Nāra (Nagara)', and even 'Khāra' referred to above and words like 'Vevahāra' in the Hathigumpha Inscription with their peculiar philological significance clearly point to the beginnings of evolution of Aryan language and culture in the land of Kalinga by the time of Khāravela.

The name 'Aila' or 'Aira' has been made much of in this connection. Some Kings of Dravid lands in old times have also used it. But nevertheless it is undoubtedly a mark of distinction indicating 'Arya, at a time when Kalinga was still to some extent being looked down upon by the Aryans of the North, and the estimation of the

kingdom of the South must have been much worse. The scrupulous attempt to stick to the title 'Aira', therefore, speaks for itself.

• Puranas give us the story of 'Ela' whose sons were Gaya and Utkala, meaning thereby allegorically that all those kingdoms as well as their kings were Ailar or Aryanised. It is not again far to infer that Khāravela had himself some relation in descent with Utkala or Gaya kings who were preeminently Ailas.

The institution of Jagannatha.

The greatest institution which has still remained a legacy of Kalinga is the Jagannath of Puri to which I have already referred. But unfortunately its history has been sadly neglected, and historians like Mr. Mazumdar would actually like us to believe that the whole thing was as it were a mushroom-growth under the Ganga kings of Orissa, though it is undoubtedly something which had acquired an India-wide character, importance, and significance long before Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva came on the throne of the country of Jagannatha. It was the last great stronghold of the Buddhist faith cleverly compromised into the Neo-Vedic School of Vaiṣṇavism during the days of Brahmanic revival after the Mauryas. As is evident from Purans and tradition Chodaganga rebuilt and repaired the temple which another king of Orissa had built upon the place where centuries, before the time of the latter the Savara God Jagannatha had been brought into prominence by a very ancient king of Malava (central India) named Indradyumna. It is the institution of Jagannath, which has influenced the life of the Kalinga people from the earliest times to the present day, and has given the type culture peculiar to the race. It has moreover been very greatly instrumental in moulding the life of the whole of India for centuries, and has added more to the common culture of the entire nation than any other institution. kingdom, or province has ever been able to do. As the formal Hinduisation of the Buddhist worship of the Tooth, it is the very history incarnate of the entire evolution of Indian life and religion, in which both the humanly pious Savara and the sacerdotally sanctimonious Brahman have merged their identity in the holy and comprehensive synthesis of Jagannath, the lord of the universe; and it is with this Hinduisation of the Tooth of Buddha again that the bar on Kalinga was completely raised, its Aryan character was permanently recognised, and "the whole of Orissa" became, in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "holy ground".

Jagannath is called Bauddhavatara by the Hindus. The Buddha is being worshipped here as an incarnation of Visnu. There is counting of incarnations in many Purans. But Jagannath as Bauddhavatara is found in none of them except Padma Purana, where

the whole legend of Jagannath is given. I may give a gist of the legend here in very brief outlines.

Viṣṇu was being worshipped as Buddha by a Savara on the sea shore in an inaccessible place full of jungles. The Savara was guarding the god carefully against its being captured by others. Indradyumna, king of Malava was a devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu, whom he wanted to worship in earthly form or living incarnation. He dreamt of this Buddha-Viṣṇu, and was told in the dream cleverly to take it from the hands of the Savara, which was not easy. He sent his young Brahman minister Vidyapati on this mission. Vidyapati came through fields and forests and after many days and with much difficulty reached the place of the Savara, but could not see the god which was hidden in the wilderness; nor would the Savara for anything in the world show him the way to the god. The Brahman lived in the Savara's house and in course of months managed to fall in love with the Savara's daughter, who by a clever manoeuvre made Vidyapati see the way to the god. Then on the Brahman's promise to marry the girl the Savara agreed to make over the god to the Raja of Vidyapati. Indradyumna then came and worshipped the god there, but to set him up in Vaisnavic pomp, he went to Svarga and other places to invite Brahma, and other Gods and Rsis. By the time he came back with Brahma and others, the god had been claimed by Galamadhava, the king of the place. Then through the mediation of the invited gods the claims of Indradyumna were established as the first discoverer, but Galamadhava was also allowed to worship the god, and remained in charge of it after Indradyumna left for Malava.

The descendants of Savara are still there in Puri considered as kinsmen of Jagannath, and are known by the name of Daitas. Vidyapati's descendants too are there known as Pati Brahmans.

During the post-Maurya revival of semi-fanatic Brahmanism, Dantapuri was probably neglected, and the famous Relic was guarded secretly by Buddhists, called Savaras and afterwards Daitas (Skt. Daitya). Calling non-Hindus by the names of Mleccha, Yavana, Daitya is not uncommon in post-Mauryan Hindu literature. Puri Temple Records generally do so. The Odas of the forests of the West Kalinga must have been better and more orthodox adherents of the old religion than the more cosmopolitan and therefore more changeable people of the plains. Sovereignty of these Odas must have been alternately divided between the Kosalas and the Kalingas, and in course of time some of the Odas might have settled in Puri, the sacred place of the Tooth. These Odas as a matter of duty guarded the neglected Tooth. Or, may be, Indradyumna came with the Oda king, perhaps the then Kosalas of Sambalpur tract, or was the Oda king himself with a nominal sway over the Kalinga-side of the

Oda land. Hence the term Odisa was applied to Jagannath, and even now locally applied to the place near the Temple.

Now in conclusion I shall simply hint an explanation of this - Odisa or Jagannath as a symbol of compromise between Buddhism and Hinduism, so important perhaps in the world's history of religious evolution. The Asokan school of Buddhism was Hinayāna or the more orthodox branch. During the time of Kaniska rose in Western Upper India the Mahayāna school which had traces of Hindu influence, and was somewhat tolerant of Hindu form of worship, and in the course of a century or two developed distinct tendency of melting into Vaishnavism. Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era Western and Upper India was found influenced by the Mahāyāna-Vaishnava faith and form of worship, and it remained for the Hinayāna school to change into the more austere Saiva cult in later times. Nagarjuna's conversion of the king of Odisa into Mahayāna Buddhism took place some time during this period, and thus prepared the way for the Tooth Relic of Buddha being turned into an institution of Vaishnava worship. The Tooth Relic was famous all over India, and not only sages like Nāgārjuna in the South, but also new Vaishnavas like Indradyumna in central India were having a keen and wistful eye on it. It was therefore for Indradyumna to take the untold troubles and humiliation in coming through hills and jungles dales, ditches and rivers, marrying his faithful minister to a Savara girl, and leaving him permanently on the inaccessible shores of Puri, and begging an almost cringing compromise of the de facto impostor Galamadhava to persuade the holy Tooth into a homely and personal God with intimations more human than divine. But probably somewhat unfortunately for the pious zealot the half fossilised tooth of Buddha grown almost adamant in ages did not completely give way, and he had to effect a grand compromise in the Orissan school of new religion for which he had to invite gods and sages from all parts of the world known to him. Thus it is that on the historic shores of ancient Kalinga both Buddha and Vishnu meet in eternal comradeship, and Buddha becomes an Avatar of Vishnu. The Buddhist accepts the Hindu form of worship; and the orthodox, fanatic Brahman observes neither caste nor untouchability.

KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.

The history of Andhradesa during the eleventh and twelfth centuries is the history of petty but powerful feudatory families that ruled, independently over small territories. These rulers called themselves *Mandalēśvaras* and *Mahāmandalēśvaras*, and often carried on internecine warfare for the purpose of extending their kingdoms into the territories of their neighbours. Of these, Telugu Chōḍas of Vikramasimhapura (Modern Nellore), Velanāṭi Chōḍas of Tsandavōlu or Dhanadupura, Kōṭas of Dharanikōṭa, Parichchēdis of Kollipākapura, Haihayas of Palnād, Chāgi chieftains of Gudimetta or Nathavādi, and lastly Chālukyas of Kolanupura are the most important that deserve a careful study. From amidst the struggle and turmoil of the last days of eleventh century rose a gradually a new family which became in less than quarter of a century the most powerful dynasty that could claim suzerainty over all Andhra and bring all the Telugu speaking people under its protection and rule. I refer to the Kākatiyas of Warangal. It is my desire to trace the history of these local chiefs and their families one after another and construct a coherent and connected history of Andhra during the two centuries that followed the removal of the central government of the Eastern Chālukyas from Rājahmahēndravaram to Kāncipuram in the South, till the establishment of the Kākatiya supremacy over all Andhra. I shall first take up the Kōṭas of Amarāvati.

The accession of Kulōttunga Chola I to the throne of the Chōḷas marks a definite period in the history of Andhradesa. The country thenceforward came to be governed by viceroys, who were selected in the early days from the members of the royal family but later on from the *Mahāmandalēśvaras* and the feudatory chiefs of the country. The appointment of royal viceroys to Vengirajya, (that was the name by which Andhradesa in those days was called) necessitated the raising the rank and power of many a captain of war distinguished for heroic services to the dignity of a *Mahāmandalēśvara* by Kulōttunga Chola I, in order to keep down the turbulent pride of his imperial children. In a way this policy proved to be successful, but in the end its results were unexpected. These hereditary chiefs in the early days could stem the growing power and influence of the royal viceroys but in the end were themselves kept down by their masters. They remained weak in spite of their ambition, and filled their lives with internal warfare in later days when the hand of the Chola Emperors

could not reach the land of Vengi, to put down the quarrelling elements. In the end all those powerful families that rose into power during the eleventh and twelfth centuries naturally decayed and paved the way for the rise of the Kakatiya power in the west at Warangal (Orugallu or Ekaśilānagari). It was early in those eventful times that the Kōṭa chiefs first came into prominence, and carved out a small but powerful kingdom in the western region of the present Guntur District.

The Kōṭas appear to be immigrants from the west i.e. the Kānarese country that settled down finally in the region round Amaravati or Dharanikota on the southern bank of the Krishna river. That region is known in history and local tradition as "Shatsahasra Vishaya" or the Telugu "Āru Vēlanāḍu" which means the "Sixth Thousand Country." It is suggested that the name of the tract like the other *nāḍus* of Andhradesa denotes the number of villages (or grāmas) comprising the district; but it does not seem to be correct. It might mean the extent or the area of the district expressed in terms of *grāma*, a kind of unit of land measurement, that obtained in those days.¹ Whatever that might be, the Kōṭas regarded themselves as the traditional rulers of this Āru Vēlanāḍu like their predecessors the Parichchēdis and Kondapaḍumatis, and lords of Sri Dhānyavātipura, which is the ancient name for Amarāvati. It may be assumed safely that these chiefs came to the known as the Kōṭas, on account of their claiming overlordship over Kōṭa i.e. Dharnikota which is another name for Dhānyavātipura.

* The *birudugadya*² of the Kota Chieftains suggests that their *vamsakarta* or the first great person in the family, whoever he might be, obtained the kingdom of 'Shatsahasra Vishaya' on the southern bank of the Krishna river through the favour of a mythical king, Trinayana Pallava. It is not possible to identify and fix the age of this prince; but he might be taken to be one of the last kings of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi. Therefore the Kota chiefs, like those

1. See Mr. Somasekhara Sarma's paper on the Form of Government in Ancient Andhra; in *Jayanti* Vol. 1. pages 75 ff.

2. The *Birudu-gadya* is as follows:—

*Svasti chatussamudra mudritā = nikhila vasundharā-paripātaka
Sri-maTtri-nayana Pallava prasāśāsādita-Kṛṣṇavenna-nadī-rakṣhana-
Shatsahasrā = vanī - vallabha bhayalōpadurlabha Chōḍa - Chālukya -
sāmanta madānēkapa mrgēndra-vibhāvāmarēndra Srimad Amarēsvare
dēva divya sri-pādāpadmārōdhakā = para chala sādaka Sri Dhānyakōṭa-
kapuravarādhīsvare Pratāpa lankēsvare Kavigalamonada kai Koduvari-
Jivakai Gandaraganda Gandabhērunda Jagamechuganda Agnimārtānda
nāmādi samastu prasasti śakitam Srimān mahāmānda-lēsvare etc.*

who also state that they obtained their kingdoms through the favour of this half-historical and half-mythical king, Trinayana Pallava, might be captains of war that distinguished themselves in the wars of Trinayana Pallava, with the Chalukyas of the west, and obtained the small tract of country from him as a token of distinction and gratitude in the seventh century. The phrase "*Chōla-Chōlukya sāmānta-madānēkapa mrgēndra-vibhavāmarēndra*" in the *birudu gadya* of this family also denotes that they were originally enemies of the Chodas and Chalukyas, which also, confirms the fact that Kōtas were friends and followers of the Pallavas. In the later days of Pallava rule, Chodas and Chalukyas, tried to uproot the Pallava Family and establish their own supremacy over the territory ruled by the latter. Some of the Kanarese titles in the same *birudugadya* strongly indicate also the Kanarese origin of the family.

The Kōtas called themselves the worshippers of the lotus feet of lord *Amarēśvarasvāmin* of Amarāvati, which clearly establishes their *Saiva* creed. They called themselves lords of Sri Dhānyakāṣkapura, even after some of the later kings shifted their capital to other cities. Their family crest is said to be *Gandabhērunda* or the two headed male Eagle, which is also the crest for the Kadambas of Banavasi. The *Gadabhērunda* crest can be seen on the seal of the Yedavalli Copper plate grant of Kēta Raja III, which is now in the Madras Museum.

The Shatsahasra Vishaya appears to have been held in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. by a line of chiefs of the Durjaya Family who called themselves "Lords of Kondapadumati", and then by another collateral line of chiefs who called themselves the lords of Kollipākapura. The next rulers of this country after these were the Kōta chiefs of Amarāvati. The first appearance of the Kōtas as prominent rulers and *mahāmandalēśvaras* is in the reign of the Chalukya-Choda emperor Tribhuvana Chakravartin, Rajaraja II, who ruled from A. D. 1146 to 1178. The earliest record of the family that has so far come to light is from Pedamakkena³ in the Sattenapalli Taluka of the Guntur District, not far from Amarāvati. The inscription is dated in Śaka year 1082 (A. D. 1160), and records the grant of a piece of land to the local temple by Bhūtamahādēvi, queen of Kōta Gandaparāja. This lady gives the geneology of her husband's family in that inscription which is in Telugu verse. According to it, in the valourous and illustrious fourth caste (*Chaturthakula*) there arose a prince by name Dhananjaya, who became so famous that his descendants regarded him as their progenitor and called themselves born in *Dananjaya Gōtra*. In that *gōtrā*, after several

3. List of Antiquities, Vol. 1. p. 65 and Loc. Rec. Vol. 42 p. 433 ff.

kings, was born a prince called Bêta, whose son was Gandabhûpati. Gandabhupati had a son Bhima alias Mummadi Bhima, whose queen, was Sûrasâni. Bhima's son was Ganḍa bhûpati (II), the husband of Bhûta mahâdêvi, the donor of the present grant.

Roughly for twenty years afterwards nothing is heard of the Kôta chiefs until we come to *Mahâmandalesvara* Kôta Bhimarâja (II) and his son Kêtarâja II. Bhima's father's name is mentioned as Kêta(I) by a later day grant of queen Gaṇapâmba, wife of Kôta Bêtaraja,⁴ but it is not clear how this Bhima II or his father Kêta I were related to Bhûtamahâdevi of the Pedamakkena record. It might be that Kêta I was a brother's son of Gaṇaparâja, and the latter having no issue, Kêta I succeeded to the throne. But nothing more than their mere names is known to us about these two princes, Gaṇaparâja and Kêta I.

Bhima II, father of the Kêtaraja (II) the great, appears to be the first powerful member of the family that held a position of any consequence in those days. He appears to have carved out a small but independent kingdom for himself on the southern bank of the Krishna river which extended into the west as far as the borders of the present Nellore District. His kingdom could successfully stem the tide of the power of the Telugu Chôḍas who were advancing into the north and threatening the very existence of the Velanâti chiefs of Tsandavôlu, the Viceroys of Andhradesa under the Chalukya-Chôḍas of the South. Bhima's friendship and even alliance were sought by the Velanâti chiefs to cement their relations. Velanti King Gonkarâja III (1127-1158 A.D.) gave his sister Sabbambika in marriage to Bhima.

It was during the reign of Bhima II, that the great war of the Palnad heroes, sung by the great Telugu poet Srinâtha, in his *Palnâti Viracharitam* was fought. The war itself took place roughly between A.D. 1175 and 1182. It was a seven years' war between the two rival claimants who were children of different mothers, for the throne of Palnad. Srinâtha tells us that Kêta II, who was at that time the crown prince of his father, fought on the side of Prince Nala-Gâma, the Haihaya king of Palnâd. Bhima and his eldest son Chôlarâja seem to have fallen on the field of Kârempûdi, the closing battle of the protracted civil war; for it was immediately after the close of this event Prince Kêta crowned himself as the king of Kôṭadêsa in his capital "Sri Dhanyavatipura. On the occasion of his accession Kêta II refers to his deceased elder brother Chôḍarâja, and makes grants for his merit to the shrine of Amarêśvarasvâmin at Amaravati.

Kēta II crowned himself king in Saka year 1104 (A. D. 1182) which is given in his numerous inscriptions⁵. Though the name of the Saka year and the actual week-day of coronation as Thursday, (Magha Śukla daśami), the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Magha, are given, it has not been possible to calculate the corresponding English date. The king made innumerable grants of land in several villages to temples and Brahmanas all over his kingdom. These lavish gifts might have been made in all probability to atone for his sins of having killed many persons on the battle-field of Kārempūdi. Whatever might be the reason Kēta began his rule by a number of generous and noble acts, which endeared him to the hearts of his people and secured peace and prosperity for his country.

Kēta appears to be a more powerful and enlightened prince than his father. His kingdom extended towards the south and included the territory now covered by the eastern half of the Guntur district. Poet Srinātha tells that Kēta, while he was yet a Yuvaraja, displayed great talents as an ambassador during the great seven years war in Palnāi. It is said that on the eve of the battle of Kārempūdi, Bāla Nāgamma the minister of King Nala-Gāmarāja, better known in popular tradition and local history as Nāyakurālu, a lady of remarkable capacity and statesmanship, chose Kētaraja as the chief of the embassy to negotiate and secure peace with Prince Malidēva and his powerful minister Brahmanāyadu, who was the cause of that war. Kētaraja, who is said to be an eloquent speaker, carried out his task with great ability and tact, though in vain. It was already too late to think of peace as both armies had marched out determined on war, and encamped on the plain near the village of Kārempūdi.

Kētaraja's inscriptions, recording his innumerable grants and benevolent acts lie scattered all over the kingdom he ruled, and range between S. 1104 and 1135 (A. D. 1182-1223). He had as many as eight queens till now known and quite a large number too of concubines according to the custom of the day. Notable among the former were Bayyala Mahādēvi daughter of Rudraraja, ruler of Nāthavādi and Mēlambika, sister of Kakatiya king Ganapatideva, Maharaja, and Gundamahadevi of the Velanāti Chōla family. By Bayyalamahādēvi or Bayyāmbika, Kēta had a son Bhima III and perhaps also Ganapatideva, and by Gundamahādēvi, a third son, Rudraraja.

Kētaraja seems to be the only prince of his family who kept several concubines. Rather there were many women according to the

5. Ep. No. 264 of 1897, and 269 of 1897, which are published in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI p. 143 ff.

inscriptions of his time who called themselves *Bhōgastris* of Kētarāja. The reason for this might be that in those days dancing girls enjoyed rank and favour in society much unlike in these days and that it was therefore a matter of pride, rank and distinction for those women to call themselves *Bhōgastris* of the King even if they had received casual attention from him. Some of these *Bhōgastris* appear to be ladies of great influence with the King, and therefore followed him wherever he went like his queens. There were amongst his queens and other members of his harem followers of the several prevailing religious faiths, particularly Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism, even though Kētarāja II was a devout saivite. His queen Bayyāmbika, and two of such *bhōgastris*, Gasavi Sūramadēvi and Prôlamadēvi deserve particular mention in this connection. These ladies followed the Buddhist faith which appears to be still flourishing and receiving royal patronage, and endowed the Shrine of Buddhadeva at Amaravati with lands, perpetual lamps and similar gifts which were recorded in inscriptions now in the temple of Amarēśvarasvāmin. On one occasion when his *Bhōgastris* made some grants to the shrine of Lord Buddha, Kētarāja also, who was present along with them granted the village of Kanṭeru and some sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity. And he afterwards gave away large number of villages to several Brahmanas, and richly endowed the temple of Amareśvara. Dr. Hultzsch who edited these last mentioned inscriptions⁶, writes of Kēta II as follows. "It appears that the majority of the villages were granted to the brahmanas but that in spite of that and that though Kēta II and his predecessors were worshippers of Amarēśvarasvāmin (verse 3, line 13 ff) he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription that at the time of Kēta II the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindu rulers of Amaravati. I hope I am not unjust to Kēta II, if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case '*Cherchez la femme*'. That two *dēvis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upāsikas* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god though he professed the *saiva* creed. It may have been to atone for his apostacy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to brahmanas as recorded in the inscription. In the present inscription the high *chaitya* of Lord Buddha is referred to, and that is a clear proof that that *chaitya* was still in existence and in good condition even as late as the 12th century A. D."

The above remarks of late Dr. Hultzsch though seemingly justifiable, are slightly exaggerated. When offering the above remarks the

Doctor was evidently unaware of the fact that Bayyāmbika, too, like the mistresses was a Buddhist *upāsika*⁷. Though the king professed *śaiva* creed, and though it was the age of revival of Saivism and Brahmanism in its modern form, Buddhism and Jainism still flourished and had several followers and patrons even among the rulers of the day. We learn from Paṇḍitarādhyā's *Sivatatvasāram* that the Velanati King. Kulottunga Rajendra Chōḍa I and his son Gonka II, who were contemporaries of Kēta I and his successors were followers of Buddhist religion, and even openly showed utter disregard and hatred towards Saivism which was then reviving under the leadership of Basava and Paṇḍitarādhyā. There is yet one more instance of Kēta's spirit of tolerance of other faiths forthcoming from an inscription dated in Saka 1135 discovered at Errabalem.⁸ Amaramma and Kētamma, two *bhogastris* of the king together with their father Yerrama Nāyaka made a gift of a piece of land and perpetual lamps to god Anantaśayana at Uṇḍavilli, and on that occasion Kēta who was also present as on the other occasion made some gifts to the temple and to the Brahmanas as well. Compared with his contemporaries, Kēta II certainly deserves praise for his great tolerance, nay even patronage of other religious faiths of the day. And this accounts also for his great popularity among his people more than anything else. Besides he must have been a just and benevolent ruler.

Gaṇapāmba says of him in her grant some forty years later that he founded many temples, constructed tanks and gardens, and built almhouses (Satalaya) endowed them with rich gifts and gave away as many as seventy agraharas to Brahmanas on the southern bank of Krishnaveni (Krishna river). It is also said that he reconstructed the shrine of *Amarēśvarasvāmin* at Amaravati, and built several temples for Śiva in Vēlpūru and other places. He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Bhimesvarasvamin, after his father's name in Peda-Cherukūru and granted a piece of land to the deity in Saka 1131 (A. D. 1219).

It is not exactly known when Kētarāja II died, but his last inscription which is referred to above is dated in Saka year 1135 (A. D. 1213). Another inscription which has been recently discovered in the shrine of *Srī Rāmēśvara Mahādeva* of Vēlpūru⁹ which is dated in Saka year 1138 records the partition of the Kōṭadēśa between Kōṭa Bhima Rāja and Rudra Rāja the two sons of Kēta II. It may be assumed therefore that Kēta's death took place some time before Saka 1138, but after Saka 1135. The above inscription indicates that

7. See Ep. No. 270 of 1897, at Amaravati.

8. See Ep. No. 79 of 1917.

9. Ep. No. 585 of 1925 see Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1925-26, p. 96.

all was not well immediately after the death of Kēta, and that there was also fighting for the throne. There was in the end partition of the Kōtāsā, the causes for which are unfortunately not now clearly known. It might be that the two princes who were descendants on their mothers' side of two powerful families, the Chāgis of Nāthavādi and the Chōdas of Velanāda, could not agree in the enjoyment of the kingdom of their ancestors either by the one or the other, and that they were backed up by their powerful relations. The partition might have been the result of a compromise owing to the interference of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, whose daughter Ganapāmba was married to Prince Bēta, son of Rūdra Rāja. This arrangement was good for the country as well as for the princes, as the country enjoyed undisturbed peace for a very long time afterwards. About this time, the Kōtas appear to have lost their independence and submitted to the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, who had already brought the entire Telugu speaking area under their rule.

As a result of this partition, Bhīmarāja obtained for his share the eastern half of the "Śaṭṣahasra Vishaya" with its capital at Amaravati (Sri Dhānyakataki) and Rudrarāja got the south-western half with its capital at Yenamadala which is also known as 'Mahishāsura-mardana-nagari'. From this date the history of the Kōta family becomes somewhat confused. Besides these two princes, apparently another member of the Kōta family, *Mahāmandalēśvara* Mummadideva Maharaja, appears to be ruling from Peda-Cherukuru, in Bapatla taluka in Saka year 1133 (A.D. 1211), as a subordinate of the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja. This prince is the son of Gaṇḍābhupati who at present can not be identified. He can be assumed either to belong to a collateral branch of the Kōtas or to be a brother of Bhīmarāja II, father of Kēta II. This branch of the Kōtas continued their influence, and existed separately till S. 1192 (A.D. 1270). The last known prince of this family is Kōta Dēvarāja, who was probably a grandson of Mummaḍi Dēva Rāja. He was ruling in Peda-Cherukuru in Saka year 1192 (A.D. 1270).

Kēta II, as we have seen above had an elder brother Chōda Rāja¹⁰ whose death paved the way for Kēta's accession to the throne. The expression '*Samprāpta rājyōnnatih*' in Kētarāja's inscriptions recording the year of his coronation, seems to suggest that his elder brother Chōda Rāja survived his father Bhīma II but died rather suddenly before he was crowned, and that event enabled Kētarāja to crown himself king. Chōdarāja married Vinjamadevi and had two sons Mummaḍi Pōtarāja and Rājayya by her. Pōtarāja was an officer under Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja, and accompanied him in all his campaigns. He was also present at

10. See Ep. No. 257 of 1897.

Tripurantakam along with his master, perhaps superintending the construction of the great temple of Tripurantakesvara, which is the only Kakatiya structure in British Andhra, under orders of the king. The temple was under construction about the year 1244-45 A. D.¹¹, when Mummadi Potaraja made grants to the God for the merit of his father Chôdaraja, his mother Vinjamadêvi and his younger brother Rajayya.¹² From this record it appears that he bore almost all the titles of the Kota chiefs of Sri Dhânyânapura though he never ruled over the country of his ancestors.

Next comes Bhimaraja III, the eldest son of Kêta II, who like the namesake of his grandfather married Sabbâmbika, a princess of the Velanâti Choda family. The offspring of this union was Kêta III, who is also known as Manma-Geta in order to distinguish him from his grandfather Dodda Kêta or Kêta II. It cannot be now known when Bhimaraja III died and his son Manma-Geta succeeded him. The earliest known record¹³ of Keta III is a copper plate grant found at Edavalli, in Narasaraopeta Taluka dated in the Saka year 1162 (A.D. 1241), which records the grant of the village as an *agrahâra* to as many as 404 brahmins on the occasion of *Mahâ-ardhodaya*.¹⁴ Kêta III appears to have a paternal uncle Kota Ganapatideva, whose inscriptions occur simultaneously with that of himself, in the same territory. This leads us to think that both the princes were joint rulers of their country. The earliest record of Ganapatideva is dated in Saka year 1156, which might be supposed to be the last year of Bhima III. Besides, Ganapatideva also bears all the titles of the Kôta family.

There has been considerable difficulty in identifying Manma-Geta or Keta III. He has been identified with his grandfather Kêta II by late Dr. Hultzsch, on account of the identity of names of the parents of both the kings. But the identification seems to be improbable and even wrong. Manma-Geta as his name itself indicates is grandson Keta for "*Manma*" in Telugu means grandson, and therefore he must be different from Dodda Kêta or Keta II (the great). Keta II, is known from his inscriptions to have ruled from Saka year 1104 to 1136 circa (A. D. 1182-1214) and certainly not beyond S. 1138, (A. D. 1216) as stated above. Therefore Manma-Geta ruling in S. 1162 (A. D. 1241) roughly 24 or 25 years later could not be Dodda Kêta or Keta II but the grandson Keta III.

11. See Ep. Rep. for 1909 p. 119.

12. Ep. No. 243 of 1905,

13. C. P. No. 5 of 1915-16 see Ep. Rep. for the year 1916 page 138.

14. *Mahâ-ardhodaya*, occurs when there is a combination of a Sunday with the Nakshatra 'Sraavana' by day time and Yoga Vyatipatâ on Amavasya day at the end of Pausa month. Vide Ind. Chronology, p. 53.

But there seems to be some difficulty in identifying Ganapati-deva whom I have called the son of Keta II. In an inscription which is dated in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), from Prattipadu¹⁵ in the Guntur Taluk, Ganapatideva is said to be the son of Manma-Geta and Bayyambika. So far as I am aware this is the only record wherein this prince mentions his father's name as Manma-Geta, while in all others he gives his father's name as Dodda Keta. He calls himself of the dear and good son of Bayyambika whom we know of the daughter of Rudradeva of Nathavadi. I have not seen the inked impression or the original inscription in question, but nevertheless will hazard a guess that the reading of the word "Manma" might be incorrect. An unpublished record of this prince in Ramesvarasvamin's temple at Velpuru¹⁶ dated in Saka year 1162, which is also the very year of Manma-Geta's above mentioned Edavalli copper plate grant, (C.P. No. 5 of 1916-17) clearly mentions him as the son of Dodda Keta, who as I have already shown above is Keta II. The close similarity of the names of the members of this family, leads one, however, to a certain amount of confusion. In spite of this, it may be assumed for the present that Ganapatideva was a son of Keta II and therefore the paternal uncle of Keta III, and ruled jointly with him. There are no records of Bhima III, now available and it is not therefore possible to fix the extent of his rule. Since the earliest date of Ganapatideva, his brother, is known to be ruling in Saka year 1156 (A. D. 1234), Bhima III might be taken to have died in or previous to that year.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, however, explains away the difficulty in this identification by supposing that Ganapatideva was a son of Ketaraja III and that he was the crown prince of his father in S. 1156 (A. D. 1234.). This supposition, he believes, is further corroborated by a record of Ganapatideva himself from Bejatapuram, (Ep. No. 65 of 1917), which is dated in S. 1160¹⁷. I think, therefore, it is not possible for the present to determine clearly the relationship between Ketaraja III and Ganapatideva.

Ganapati deva who appears to be a more powerful prince than his father Bhima III or his nephew Keta III, survived the latter as his records would show. The earliest and the last known year of Manma-Geta is Saka year 1162 of the Edavalli grant, and as such we may assume that he did not survive long after that. On the other hand the last known date of Ganapatideva is Saka 1187 (A.D. 1265) which is also the first year of his son and successor Bhima IV the husband of Somaldevi. One interesting fact about Ganapatideva is

15. Ep. No. 141 of 1917.

16. No. 878, Guntur district, V. Rangachari's Inscription of the Madras Presidency.

17. See Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1917 P. 128, p. 41.

that while his mother Bayyambika was a Buddhist upasika, he remained a staunch worshipper of Siva, and patronised the pontiffs of Gôlakimatha of Tripurantakam, to whom he made large grants of land. In one of his grants to the Matha in Saka year 1184 (A.D. 1262) Ganapatideva refers to the celebrated Viśvāśvara Dēśika, the high Pontiff of the Gôlakimatha at Tripurantakam, as the "Illustrious Rājagurudēva".¹⁸ This august personage was the royal preceptor to the Kakatiya Queen Rudramadevi also. In the year under mention Ganapatideva went on a pilgrimage to Tripurantakam and made gifts to the God and the Matha for the merit of his parents. At that time the Nathavādi chiefs, who were related to the Queen mother Bayyambika were also present to make grants to the God Tripurāntakēśvara.

Like Ganapatideva, his *Mahāpradhāni* Prōhī nayaka,¹⁹ also appears to be a follower of Saiva creed. He founded several temples of Rānēśvara, Ganeśa and Kumārasvāmin, for the merit of his parents Uddanda Nayaka and Gāṇḍaśāni, and an elder brother Dandamayaka Kōti Nayaka. His younger brother who also appears to be an officer of the king founded and built shrines of Kēśavadeva and Kuppu Vināyaka in Bejatapuram in Guntur Taluk.

Ganapatideva, bears in addition to his family titles, *Jagamechu gāṇḍa* and Maharaja, which seem to have been conferred by the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva Maharaja whose vassal he was. In one of his inscriptions, his queen's name is given as Komarambika. Her brother is one Machinayadu; but it is not known to which family he belonged. Almost all the records of the king are either in Sanskrit or Telugu poetry, and this might be due to his great patronage of poets at his court. One Nṛsimha, who is said to be an '*Ubhayakavi*' is mentioned as the composer of his numerous records. Unfortunately we have nothing extant except those stray compositions of this Ubhaya Kavi Nṛsimha.

From Tadikonda in Guntur taluq of the Guntur district come two records which mention two chiefs Prolraju and Bayyarāju, grandsons of Kōṭa Vennamahādevi, and certain gifts made by them to the shrines of Mūlasthānēśvara and Mallārādēva. These chiefs called themselves, "The Lords of Dhānyakatakapura and the worshippers of the lotus feet of god Amaresvara",—the two well known epithets of the Kōṭa chiefs. One of these records (Ep. No. 173 of 1917) dated in S. 1183, falls in the reign of Ganapatideva. Kōṭa Vennamahādevi may therefore be identified with Vinjamādevi queen of prince Chōḍaraja; and her two grandsons might be the sons of her son

18. Ep. No. 103 of 1917.

19. Ep. No. 65 of 1917.

Manasa Pataraja. This is further corroborated by another record of this lady chief in the same place. (Ep. No. 172 of 1917). It is not however, known what the position of these chiefs was in the country, in relation to the royal family at that time.

The last known prince of this branch is Bhimaraja IV, the son and successor of Ganapatideva. An inscription which is referred to below, mentions him ruling the country in S. 1187 (A. D. 1265).²⁰ It also appears from the same that he and his queen Somamba or Somaladevi were jointly ruling. After their death which might have taken place before S. 1190, the eastern half of Kōṭadēsa also passed into the hands of Gaṇapāmba, queen of Bētaraja. Bhimaraja and his queen Somaladevi are mentioned in a record of their *pradhāni* (minister), Vallabhapreggada, at Rompicherla. The minister gives therein the geneology of his own family and mentions that his ancestors were ministers to the Kōṭa kings of Dhānyavatipura. Vallabha's grand father was Mahadeva, who had two sons Anantamātya father of Vallabhapreggada, and another Vallabha mantri. Vallabhapreggada built at Rompicherla (Pankatatakapura) the temple of Ananta Gopinathadeva in the name and for the merit of his deceased father. The record further states that the gifts of certain tolls and taxes of the village were made to the temple for the victorious rule of Mallapanāyaka and Jāyapanāidu who were apparently the local rulers appointed by the king and the queen.

Now we go back to trace the history of the other branch, the descendants of Keta II by his wife Gundamadevi. Their son is Rudradeva who married Pandambika. Rudradeva's records are not now forth coming and therefore it is not possible to determine the extent of his rule. There is however an inscription dated in Saka year 1163 (A. D. 1241) recording the *Pratistha* of god Rudresvara at Yenamadala and a gift of land to the deity for the merit of the King Bēta by some private persons in which mention is also made of Gaṇapama devi, queen of Bētaraja. The construction of the temple in the capital for the merit of the reigning king would only suggest that the last king died recently and that the new King had just succeeded him. An interesting local incident that took place in the reign of Bētaraja has been recorded in Vunguturu.²¹ It is said that one Bandāruvu Kūna boyi and a *bantu* (servant) of the king went with Parvadēva into the open ground of Gārlapādu, threatened Bommareddi, killed Bhimaraja and died fighting with great prowess. The date of this record is not given, as also the details that led to the fight.

Bēta is said to be ruling in Yenamadala in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250) but it is not known in what year he died. A grant dated

20. Ep. No. 299 of 1915; also see Rep. South Ind. Ep. for 1916, page 137-138.

21. Ep. No. 181 of 1917.

in Saka year 1179 (A. D. 1257) *Nala*, in favour of Allādanātha temple at Ipūru, Tenali Taluk, Guntur district mentions it having been made for the merit of Mahamandālesvara Kōta Gaṇapatidēviyammāgaru. This lady chief, as we have mentioned already was a daughter of Kakatiya Gaṇapatideva Maharaja, and a sister of Rudramba, and the wife of Kōta, Betaraja. The title 'Mahamandālesvara' prefixed to Gaṇapāmba in this inscription suggests that she must have been independently ruling her husband's dominions after the latter's death. In Saka 1173 (A. D. 1251) her husband was living since in that year he is stated to have founded the temple of Gōpinātha-Vāsudēva at Yenamadala.²² In the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmba which Dr. Hultsch has published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III pp. 94 ff. it is stated that Gaṇapāmba after her husband's death, devoted herself to pious works and assumed the government of the small territory inherited from her deceased husband Bētaraja and his ancestors along with the title of 'Mahāmandālesvara' or 'lord' in the masculine gender. This record confirms therefore what is stated above viz, that Gaṇapāmba, after the death of her lord did actually rule and assume male titles even like her valorous sister Queen Rudramadevi. Again in the cyclic year *Saumya* (corresponding to S. 1172 (A. D. 1250) which is now lost in the original of the Yenamadala inscription but which Prof. Hultsch takes from an abridged translation of it found in the Krishna District Manual of Col. Mackenzie, is presumed to be the possibly correct date of the record. If this be true the death of Betaraja will have to be fixed to be before Saka 1172 but the Yenamadala record (Ep. No. 142 of 1913) referred to above clearly shows that Betaraja was alive in Saka 1173. From this and from the Allādanātha temple inscription at Ipuru²³ referred to above also of Saka year 1179, it can be concluded that Betaraja must have died sometime between Saka 1173 and 1179. Therefore the date of Yenamadala record of Gaṇapāmba giving the year *Saumya* might be taken also as the year of Betaraja's death, corresponding to Saka 1173 and not Saka 1172, as the Saka year might have expired. And the death of Bēta might have occurred before the Saka year in the *Saumya samvatsara* itself.²⁴

Betaraja, unlike his father and grandfather appears to be a *vaishnava*, and as we have seen above he constructed a temple for Gopinatha in his capital which must have taken place probably in Saka 1172 (A. D. 1250). On that occasion queen Gaṇapāmadevi also gave to it land in the village of Garagapadu, an oil-mill and a flower

22. Ep. No. 142 of 1913. Ep. Rep. 1914, p. 104.

23. Ep. No. 535 of 1913.

24. Ep. Rep. for 1914 p. 104.

garden. The *Mahājanas* of the village also transferred the marriage fees granted by Ganapamadēvi to them, to the temple of Gopinatha.

It appears that from the earliest times the *Mahājanas* etc., of a village were entitled to collect taxes on artisan classes, marriages, barbers, and octroi duties, a schedule of which was hung up at the main entrances of the village or town. And these collections were spent for the improvement of the village sanitation, construction of *Satralayas* (alms houses) and other work of public utility, and that there was a committee of five to manage these funds as trustees. This form of local government appears to have continued till the disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire and the establishment of the Mohamedan power finally all over the country.

Ganapamadēvi and her sister Queen Rudramba of Warangal are remarkable figures in the history of Andhradēsa and the latter is remembered even to this day. The country enjoyed under their rule greater peace and prosperity than under any other ruler, ancient or medieval. Ganapamba is noted for the pious works to which she devoted herself after the death of her husband. She is said to have spent the remaining years of her life in the contemplation of God, in doing acts of charity and in governing her kingdom justly and wisely. Of her pious works the following deserve a particular mention. "She placed golden pinnacles on the shrine of Amaresvara at Sri Dhānyāṅkapura (Amaravati) on the Krishna river, and built in Yenamadala a temple of Siva which was called *Bētēsvara* after her deceased husband's name, and to which she allotted the revenue of Benadevi, a village of Sathenapalli Taluk. At Sri Dhānyāṅkapura, she built another temple of Siva, which she called *Gaṇapēsvara* after her father Ganapatideva Maharaja, and granted to this temple the village of Chintapādu. Of these three temples which are mentioned in connection with Ganapāmba the first, Amareśvara still exists at Amaravati. The second *Bētēsvara* cannot now be traced at Yenamadala. It is not known if there exists still the shrine of *Gaṇapēsvara* at Amaravati." ²⁵

Ganapāmba must have spent the rest of her life after she became widow devoting to pious works and just government of her country. The last known date of her grant is S. 1179, and it is not known when she died. It is probable that she lived long and saw the dawn of the fourteenth century like her sister. She seems to be ruling still in 1290-91, when the Italian traveller Marco Polo visited Motupalli in order to learn more things about the "Country of Mutfili; the land of diamonds." It has been assumed by learned scholars that the queen referred to by Marco Polo, was Rudramadevi, the *Kakitya*

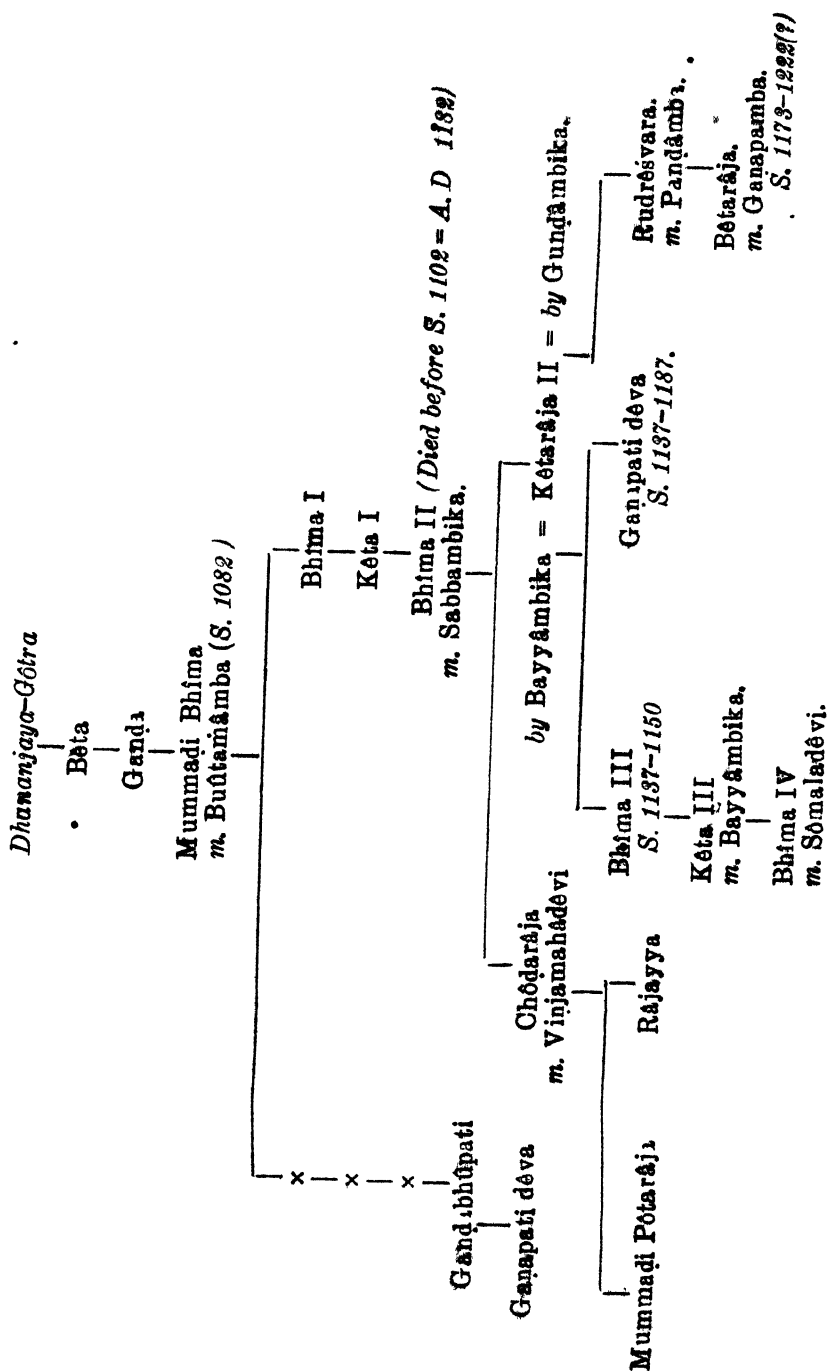
Queen, that ruled from Ekasilaṣagari (Warangal) from 1280-1296 A. D. But I think the identification is not correct for more than one reason. Concerning the kingdom of Mutfili, Marco Polo says²⁶ "This, was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion who for the great love she bore for him would never marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as her husband did, or better, and as she was a lover of justice, of equity and of peace she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady or Lord of theirs before", Marco Polo mentions in unequivocal terms that the kingdom belonged to her husband, that since this latter's death which took place forty years ago his widow ruled instead. Rudramadevi's husband is not known to be a King and she did not rule the kingdom of her husband. It was that of her father Ganapati dēva. Again Rudramadevi was on the throne for thirty years only at the time of Marco Polo's visit, while as we know Ganapamba, taking her husband's death to have taken place about S 1173 (1251 A.D.), was ruling for forty years in 1291-1292 the year of Marco Polo's visit. The Italian traveller did not go into the country, but sailed back along the coast of Ma-ābar to the south, after staying perhaps for a few weeks or days in Mutfili, (which has been identified with Motupalli in Bapatla Taluka of Guntur district, the greatest sea port of the East under the Kakitiyas), after visiting the diamond mines in the neighbourhood of Paritala and Mallavaram, along the eastern edge of the Tumrukōṭa range, on the southern bank of the river Kriṣṇa.²⁷ Marco Polo, who was present in the country ruled by Ganapamadevi, must have learnt many things about her from her own people, and therefore could not have committed mistake in mentioning the great queen. Rudrāmba might be a greater queen as her territory was larger but it is improbable that Marco could have heard her name and mis-stated important details about her.

After the death of Ganapamba, it appears that one Devaraja ruled the kingdom, but considering the date given to him by tradition which is not confirmed by any inscription of his time it not possible to rely on it. It may be believed that after her death the whole of Kotadesa, or the Shatsahasra country passed into the hands of Kakitiyas, whose vassal she and her ancestors were.

26. Travels of Marco Polo, Yule Vol. II, Sk. III, Chap. XIX pp. 359-361.

27. Memoirs of Geological Survey of India Vol. VIII p. 110. There were the mines that supplied priceless diamonds to the world and brought immortal fame to Golconda.

GENEALOGY OF THE KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.



HINDU INDIA FROM TALLIKOTA (1565). TO SIVAJI'S RISE (1660).

A. SANKARA RAO B. A. L. T.

The development of national sentiment throughout India in recent times has necessarily led to a deep study of Indian history on modern lines from the national point of view. One of the fruits of such a study has gradually been the proper understanding of the contribution made towards the possibility of the development of an Indian Nationality by Sivaji and his successors. But still there are a number of often-repeated set arguments which western historians of the ordinary type advance to belittle the national character of this contribution. When eminent Indian historians of the position of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar advance the same set of arguments, it is time to examine them both in the interests of the right spirit of historical research and also the healthy development of Indian nationalism.

II.

The Transitional period in Indian History (1193-1565).

Referring to the condition of India at the time of the rise of Sivaji (1627-1660) Mr. Jadunath Sarkar writes¹ "After the fatal day of Thallikota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a sovereign with a fully independent state under him. Therefore the ablest Hindu, with all his wealth and power, had only been a feudal baron, a mercenary general under an alien master". The implication is, according to Mr. Sarkar, that between the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise of Sivaji, the Hindus were content to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in an alien's household and had not the national self-respect and strength to assert themselves. Mr. Sarkar also writes "Ever since the battle of Taraori (1193) when Pridviraj went down, through five centuries, without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset, had swept over the Hindu world". This is one of the superstitions of old type of Indian historians and is a very surprising statement, coming from Mr. Jadunath Sarkar. It does not stand close examination of facts and figures.

1. Sivaji, His genius, Environment and Achievement by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar in Modern Review (Calcutta) for May 1927.

To begin with, it is not right to consider that there was in any true sense any large conquest of Hindu India by the Mahammadans till the reign of Akbar the Great. After the end of the Hindu period proper, and to the advent of Akbar the Great, that is from 1193-1556 the state of India resembled the state of England from 800-1042 when the Danes were constantly invading England. The invasions of Mahmal Ghazni and Ghori resembled only the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmal Shah Abdali later on. They were only symptoms of the troubled state of the country and they left Hindu India virtually independent. Mahmal Ghori had been defeated by Prithvi Raj before he could defeat him. Later on, the rule of the Slave dynasty, the Khiliji dynasty and the Lodi dynasty was really a rule which was confined only to a limited portion of the vast Hindu continent and which received constant rebuffs at the hands of Hindu princes and people. The first two Mughals, Babar and Humayun, could not subdue any great portion of the country because they did not themselves feel strong on the throne and also because the Afghan rulers whom they had displaced had not yet been subdued thoroughly and constantly proved to be a serious danger. So from the battle of Tarauri to the accession of Akbar, there was constant fighting between the Hindu Princes and the foreign invaders and the state of the country was like the state of England during the Danish invasions as above stated. Vincent Smith, dealing with this period, writes "The Muhammadan conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the twelfth century if the frontier provinces of Kabul, the Punjab and Sind be excluded from consideration. It may be reckoned to have continued until 1340— After 1340, the frontiers of the Sultanate of Delhi rapidly contracted, many new kingdoms, both Mussulman and Hindu, being formed. The quick growth of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar checked the Southern progress of Islam and recovered some territory which had passed under muslim rule. Elsewhere too, Hindu chiefs asserted themselves and it may be affirmed with truth that for more than two centuries, from 1340 to the accession of Akbar in 1556, *Islam lost ground on the whole*". Mr. Sarkar's statement that "ever since the battle of Tarauri through five centuries (till the rise of Sivaji) without a break, wave after wave of foreign onset had swept over the Hindu World" is directly contradicted by Vincent Smith's Statement.

III

In Northern India—Hindu Predominance from Akbar to Shahjehan.

It was Akbar that deliberately set himself to give up the drifting and hostile policy of his predecessors towards the inhabitants

of this country. His early life, full of troubles, taught him the wisdom of following a conciliatory policy towards the people of this country and thus strengthen his own position on the throne so that he might not again be driven into exile like his father Humayun by his Afghan foes. He also saw the Mughal nobles round him constantly proving more a hindrance than a help to him by each caring for his own individual aggrandisement, than for the strength of his throne. So while retaining the services of the Mughal nobles who had followed his grandfather and father into India and who were constantly being reinforced by fresh recruits, Akbar tried to make the Hindu princes dignified partners in the administration of the country by forming dynastic alliances with them and by respecting their religion, customs and usages. His successors, Jahangir and Shahjahan wisely adhered to this policy and the strength and splendour of the Mughal rule from Akbar to Shahjahan was due mostly to this farsighted policy. The Orthodox section of Mahammadan nobles were dissatisfied with this policy and they gradually became so vociferous that Aurangzeb, counting on their support and feeling no more the necessity of strengthening his throne by following such a policy after a century of Mughal rule, posed himself as the champion of Orthodox Mahammadan section against his own brother, Dara, whose leanings towards Akbar's popular policy had made him many enemies among the orthodox Mahammadan section. In executing Dara, Aurangzeb pitched upon this plea of Dara's Hindu sympathies as the ostensible cause and in Dara, he killed the true descendant of Akbar's policy. Aurangzeb's long reign put his orthodox policy to test and brought out by contrast the wisdom of the policy of his predecessors. His policy also brought out the capacity of the Hindus to resist encroachments on their liberties.

In following a conciliatory policy, which may be safely called an "Indian National Policy" Akbar, Jahangir and Shahajahan only followed the policy which, in similar circumstances, the early Norman rulers in England from William I had followed. William and his successors, feeling their position insecure against the ambition of the strong Norman barons who had followed them into England with a view to enrich themselves at the expense of the English people on the one hand and William's dynasty on the other hand, posed themselves as the champions of the English people against their own barons. So they made their position strong by keeping the people and also the barons in proper check by playing the one against the other. The same policy gave immense strength to the Mughal throne after Akbar as the Mughals came to identify themselves with the people of the country and thought themselves to be "Indian rulers", and not mere "Moslem rulers". This policy brought out a splendid response from

the people and the major section of the Hindus for a time remembered that they were not only Hindus but Indians and citizens of a vast empire and served the Mughals as they would have served their own Hindu rulers. Akbar's policy was not merely Pro-Hindu, as is ordinarily supposed. He had leanings towards Christianity also and these were inherited by Jehangir also later on. Tavernier who had widely travelled in India in Shahjehan's reign says that "Shahjehan reigned not so much as a King over his subjects but as a father over his family and children".

To mention only a few of the many innovations introduced by Akbar the following extract from Vincent Smith is enough "Akbar's new policy in relation to his Hindu Subjects was not determined mainly by his personal fancies or belief in matters of religion. At an early age, he perceived the political necessity that the Padshah should be impartial Sovereign of all his subjects, irrespective of creed. That sound political instinct determined his action as quite a young man in abolishing the Jizya and pilgrim dues and in marrying Hindu princesses. Akbar contracted his marriages (with Hindu princesses) in a different spirit (from the Deccan Sultans) and *accepted his Hindu male connections as members of the royal family*. No pressure was put on the princess of Amber, Marwar or Bikaner to adopt Islam and they were freely entrusted with the highest military commands and the most responsible administrative offices..... Akbar induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian technique and imitate Persian style..... The architecture of Akbar's reign is characterised by a happy blending of Hindu and Mahammadan styles" Mount Stuart Elphinstone writes "It was however, by the aid and under the direction of the Emperor (Akbar) that he (Feizi) conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Brahmins. Besides Sanscrit works in poetry and Philosophy, he made a version of "Bija Ganita" and "Lilavathi" of Bhaskara Acharya, the best Hindu books on algebra and arithmetic. He likewise superintended translations made from the Sanscrit by other learned men, including one at least of the vedas, the two great historical and heroic poems, the "Mahabharata" and "Ramayana" and the "History of Chashmir", the only specimen of that sort of composition in Sanscrit prose..... He however forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time contrary to the Hindu law; above all he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will". No doubt Vincent Smith sums up his reign thus "Towards the close of his life, Akbar became practically a Hindu in most respects adopting many Hindu usages such as shaving his beard and whiskers, abstaining from beef and to a large

extent, from meat of any kind". Thus the Mughal despotism from Akbar to Shahjahan was in spite of its defects, a national despotism like the Tudor despotism in England at about the same time. The people of the country, vexed with the constant wars preceding the period, willingly gave it their hearty support and it brought order and peace throughout the Subahs. In view of this nationalisation of the central government at Delhi from the accession of Akbar (1556) to the rise of Sivaji (1650) i. e. the reign of Aurangzeb, we can see why there is no force in Mr. Sarkar's contention at least as far as Northern India is concerned that, "after the fatal day of Thallikkota (1565), no Hindu even in the more sheltered Southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a Sovereign with a fully independent state under him". It was because during this period practically a Hindu dynasty ruled from Delhi from Akbar to Shahjahan.

IV

In Southern India-Hindu Predominance (1565-1650).

Nor was the case different in Southern India. Southern India never witnessed really any strong Moslem oppression. After a temporary alliance to exterminate their common foe at Thallikkota, the Mahammadan Kingdoms soon quarrelled among themselves and the Hindus became very dominant in the administration. In addition to this, there was the constant fear of Mughal conquest and these states and their rulers were as much anxious to prove themselves Hindu rulers as they were Mahammadan rulers and they pursued a "National policy". Mahadeo Govind Ranade, in his admirable and monumental work, "The Rise of the Maharatha power" says:—

"It would be interesting in this place to note the successive steps by which the Muhammadan power in the Deccan was gradually subverted by and subordinated to Hindu usages.

(1) In the first place, the Deccan Mahammadans, being separated from their base beyond the frontier, were not recruited by fresh invaders (as in the case of Delhi by Turks, Persians etc)

(2) The founder of the Bahmini Kingdom was a slave of a brahman named Gangu at Delhi who foretold the good fortune that was in store for him. Hassan, the slave, gratefully acknowledged his obligation when he rose to power and he called his empire the "Bahmini".² This, in itself, was a homage paid to Hindu influences which distinguished the Deccan Mahammadans from those of the

2. This theory is being doubted now by learned scholars

South and which practically bore fruit when Gangu was brought over from Delhi and placed in charge of the finance department. * ♪

(3) In consequence of this arrangement, the revenue management and the charge of the treasure remained all along in Hindu hands.

(4) Not only was the revenue management in native hands, but later on, when the Bahmini kingdom made a way for the five separated kingdoms of Bijapur, Berars Ahmednagar, Bedar and Golconda, the revenue accounts of villages and mahals were kept in the vernacular in place of the foreign Persian or Urdu Language.

(5) The revolt in 1347 against the Delhi Emperor, Mahammad Tughlak, through a conspiracy of Mahammadan nobles, became successful chiefly by reason of the alliance of the Hindu kings of Telangan and Vijayanagar with the rebels.

(6) In consequence of this balance of power between Hindus and Musalamans the latter seldom indulged in those excesses which distinguished their rule in Northern India and the former never suffered the *depressions they felt elsewhere as an incidence of foreign conquest.*

(7) The Muhammadan rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives in their harems. The seventh Bahmini king allied himself with the Vijayanagar family and the ninth Bahmini king married the daughter of the Raja of Sonhed. The first Bijapur king, Yusuf adil Shah took for his wife the sister of one Mukundararao, a brahman, and this lady became his chief queen being known by the name of Babuji Khanum and her son ascended the throne after Yusuf's death. The 1st ruler of the Barid Dynasty at Bedar got his son married to the daughter of one Sabaji Maratha who was a nobleman of some service of the Bahadamani kings.

(8) In the same category must be placed the influence of Hindu converts. The first Ahmednagar king was the son of a converted brahman Kulkarni of Patri in Berar whose family had entered the service of the Vijayanagar kings^s. The brahmin surname "Bhairay", the distinguished title of these kings and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Patri and gave it in inam to the brahmin Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers. The first founder of the Imadshahi dynasty in Berar was also the son of a brahmin in the service of Vijayanagar who was taken captive and became a convert.

(9) On the whole, great toleration was shown towards their Hindu subject by these Mahammadan kings and gradually both civil and military power came into Hindu hands. As a consequence, the Mahammadan kings gave inam lands to Hindu temple endowments

and Hindu physicians were employed in hospitals and in some cases even grants were given and continued to brahmin communities.

(10) In the military department, this predominance of the Hindus more and more manifested itself as years rolled on.

In consequence of the influences and changes noted above⁸ about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the nominal Mahammadan rules of Golconda, Nagar, Bedar were virtually controlled both in the civil and military departments by Maratha Statesmen and Maratha warriors and the hill forts near the Ghatas and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jagirdars who were only nominally dependant upon their Mahammadan sovereigns".

The above facts must prove a sufficient answer to Mr. Sarkar's contention that there was no Hindu fight for independence after the battle of Thallikota in Southern India. It was, as in the case at Delhi, due to an "Indian" and a "national policy" being pursued by the Deccan Sultans during this period.

Aurangazeb, who came to the throne with his anti-Hindu and anti-Shia policy, totally misunderstood the forces of his time and his reign witnessed a grand Hindu revival, assisted by the Shia Mahammadans throughout his wide Empire. It was during his reign that the Rajputs, the main prop of the Mughal throne from Akbar to Shajahan, revolted unitedly against the Mughal ruler. The Maharattas and Sikas also during his reign organised themselves into formidable camps against him. Aurangazeb's reign, coming after the national Mughal despotism from 1556-1658, resembles the reign of the later Stuarts, especially James II, who, after more than a century of reformation movement in England, wanted to undo its work and swim against the current by nullifying the Test Act, by crude contrivances like his claim of suspending and dispensing with laws and his declaration of indulgence. Aurangazeb left an unenviable legacy to his successors and the later Mughals, like true descendants of Alamgir, followed faithfully his anti-Hindu and anti-Shiah policy and learnt nothing from Aurangazeb's mistakes or the decaying symptoms visible throughout the Empire. The later Mughals were the Bourbons of India who forgot nothing and learnt nothing. No wonder that, in fifty years only after Aurangazeb's death a foreign power laid the foundations of its vast Empire in India at Plassey in Bengal profiting by the disrupted state of the country and the constant wrangling of Indian rulers with one another. The Maharattas, after Aurangazeb's death and before 1802 had not sufficient time to consolidate their power

3. It may also be added that the Mahammadan Kings of those Deccan Kingdoms encouraged the South Indian Vernaculars in various ways, especially by patronizing the poets.

in an India torn asunder by factions dating from Aurangazeb's time and this was one of the main reasons why they were driven to the wall by the English Subsidiary policy which found fertile soil in the country in those days.

Sivaji and successors were the true successors of the Vijayanagar rulers and the Hindu revival after Thallikota combined with the reactionary policy of Aurangazeb gave a tremendous impetus to the rise of the Maratha power during the eighteenth century. Sivaji is not a mere accident during the latter part of the seventeenth century but his rise was in the inevitable logic of events. To understand the rise of Sivaji, it is quite essential that we must understand the state of Hindu India after Thallikota. Instead of having been cowed down with fear, as Mr. Sarkar implies, a correct analysis must show an impartial observer that the Hindu Princes and people from 1565-1658 throughout the country were more than holding their own and kept up their noble traditions which later on made the rise of a Sivaji possible when circumstances made it the only possible alternative for a self-respecting nation to assert itself.

THE DATE OF KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S DEATH.

By K. RAGHAVACHARYULU M. A. B. L.

It has been assumed by Historians including Sewell, the author of 'the Forgotten Empire' that Krishnadeva Rāya ruled in Vijayanagar from 1509-1530 A. D. Sewell in his book says that 'the latest grant available during the reign of Krishnadeva Rāya is one dated 1529 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. I., P. 398) while the earliest of Achyuta-deva Rāya's grants is of the year 1530 A. D. (Ep. Indica Vol. IV; Page 3 Note 4). This view requires reconsideration in the 'light' of Epigraphical and Archaeological information available to us since the publication of Sewell's Book.

To begin with, there is a telugu verse current in Āndhra desa (చాళువు) which expressly refers to the death of Krishnadeva Rāya in S. S. 1446-47 (1525-1526 A. D.), the material portion of which is given below.

.....కాలినాన కకాబ్బము ల్పదియుగాల్చి పోములం
చారణవర్షరంబున నిదాఘునినంబున క్షేప్తశుద్ధ వ
క్షీరవివాసరంబున వృషింతుని కృష్ణుడు చేరస్వర్గమున్.

This verse expressly refers to Tarana (S. S. 1446-47) as the year of Krishna Rāya's death and impels a student of History to a study of the Inscriptions available between 1525-30 A. D.

1. A canarese Inscription of Tirumala deva Rāya son of Krishnadeva Rāya (S. S. 1446) is found on a stone behind the Anjaneya Temple and is referred to as the Marenapalli Inscription, Mayadi Taluq (No. 82 Ep. Carnatica Vol. IX). It recites స్వస్తి శ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ కాలినాన కకవర్ష 1446 నేయతారణ పంచవర్షరద మార్గశిర శు ౨ శని స్వస్తి శ్రీమహా మహారాజధిరాజ రాజవరమేశ్వర శ్రీ వీరభుజ బలవ్రతాప గజపతి అశ్వపతి భాద్ర కృష్ణ దేవ మహారాయ ఉదయాబ్ద చంద్ర శ్రీ తిరుమలదేవ మహారాయన కాలదల..... శ్రీ కృష్ణ దేవ మహారాయరిగ గంగోదక నేవితరప్ప.....శోననాయకర.....

This grant refers to a gift by Tirumala Rāya, son of Krishna Rāya to one Kōna Nayakar for having given Gangodaka to Krishnadeva Rāya before his death.

2. There are a number of Inscriptions before 1530 A. D. referring to Achyutadeva Rāya, the duration of whose reign has been hitherto popularly accepted as 1530-1542 A. D.

(a) Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency (Edited by V. Rangachariar M.A.) Vol. I, P. 310. A Rempuram Pagoda Inscription in Bellary district refers to a grant of 12 Kolagas of Paddy field by Achyutadēva Rāya in S. S. 1448 (Vijaya).

(b) An inscription on Kallāsanātha Temple Manimangalam, Saidapet Taluq. of the year 1449 S. S. (Vijaya). This refers to a Mahāmandaleswara Sindaiya Deva in the reign of Achyuta Rāya (P. 414 Mad. Insns. Vol. I.)

(c) A Vijianagar Inscription of the year 1448 S. S. (1526 A.D.) referring to a grant by Achutadēva Rāya (Sewell's Antiquities Vol. I P. 107).

(d) An inscription in the Kēsava Temple of Ayyaluru, Nandyal Taluq. bearing the date S. S. 1450 (1528 A.D.) Sewell doubts the date of this inscription (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 93.)

(e) An inscription dated 1529 A.D. (S. S. 1451) at the Temple of Arulāla Perumal Conjeevaram (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 182.)

(f) A copper plate grant of Achyuta Rāya, brother of Krishnadēva Rāya of 3 villages. (Sew. Ant. Vol. II P. 16) S.S. 1451 = 1529 A.D.

(g) Komarapudi Inscription on Narasimhakonda Temple, Nellore District (No. 509 P. 1118 Vol. II Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.) dated 1448 S. S. Pārthiva.

(h) An Inscription dated 1448 S. S. Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II Page 803.

• It may be noted that there are a number of Inscriptions of the year 1530 A.D. referring to Achyutadēva Rāya—the year which has been by historians assumed to be the year of his accession.

3. Many Inscriptions referring to Krishnadēva Rāya are available to us in the collections noted above and referring to some Saka year between 1525–1530 A.D. Some of them recite private grants during the reign of Krishnadēva Rāya. But the Timmappaswami Temple Inscription in Chippagiri, Alur Taluq, Bellary District. (Sew. Ant. Vol. I P. 322–1450 S. S. = 1528 A.D.) and the Velamakuru Inscription (S. S. 1451 = 1529 A.D. Sew. Ant. Vol. I Page 323) in the Anantapur District refer expressly to the building of a Temple and the Endowment of a Temple by Krishna Rāya himself.

4. A lease attributed to Rama Rāya, son-in-law, of Krishnadēva Rāya and reciting that he was ruling in Vijianagar in 1448 S. S. is mentioned in the Local Records (Vol. 18 P. 407).

5. A grant by Tirumala Rāya, son of Krishnadēva Rāya in S. S. 1446 is given in the Epigraphical Collections 139 of 1896.

From the conflicting material above referred to, the date of Krishnadēva Rāya's death and Achyuta Rāya's accession have to be deduced. Popular Tradition points out that Tirumala Rāya, a son of Krishnadēva Rāya predeceased his father at an early age below ten and that Krishnadēva Rāya suspecting foul play at the hands of Timmarasu and his sons, imprisoned them and blinded Timmarasu, his favourite minister. No doubt this cannot be accepted as History but it seems to be beyond doubt that Achyuta Rāya succeeded Krishnadēva Rāya and that Krishnadēva Rāya's sons must have predeceased him.

Late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Row deduces from the Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Rāya and from the Inscriptions of Achyuta Rāya, Rāma Rāya and Krishnadēva Rāya, that the period between 1525-1530 A.D. must have been a period of Interregnum when the son-in-law Rama Rāya and brother Achyuta Rāya were fighting for the throne, each asserting his own sovereignty and that the nobles were during that period ruling in the name of Krishnadēva Rāya. Such an interpretation seems to be farfetched. A satisfactory solution other than this must be looked for in the annals of the History of Vijianagar. The Marenahalli Inscription of Tirumala Rāya and the Inscriptions of Krishnadēva Rāya till 1530 A.D. might point to a serious illness of Krishnadēva Rāya during the years 1525-1530 A.D. If so, the inscriptions of Achyuta Rāya can be taken to refer to his rule whether as an agent of his brother or in his own independent capacities of a Sovereign in a portion of the Vijianagar Empire.

The copper plate inscription of Konagatla in Nāgarī characters refers expressly to the death of Krishnadēva Rāya (1530 A.D.)

శృంగేరి మరణానంతరం కృష్ణదేవరాయుని మరణం

తదనంతరం జన్మ పుత్రా శ్రీ రామచంద్రేంద్రః

It might reasonably be supposed that Krishnadēva Rāya survived till 1530 A.D. but it is difficult to understand why none of the Inscriptions of Achyuta Rāya during that period refer to Krishnadēva Rāya. Expressing my indebtedness to late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao's brilliant essay on the subject, I hope that a further study of the problem will be taken up by Historians and Research scholars and a satisfactory solution be arrived at an early date.

HALA AND ŚĀLIVĀHANA ERA.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T.

The Purāṇas give a list of kings whom they call by both the names 'Āndhras' and 'Āndhra Bhrityas' and who are really "Śāta-vāhanas". Thus the first name given in the Purāṇas viz., Śimuka or Śisuka is named in an early inscription as Śimuka Śatavāhaṇa.

The testimony of the Purāṇas that the Āndhra rule lasted for nearly 4½ centuries is substantially accurate. The number of Kings is also correctly reported to be 30, though one text of Vāyu Purāṇa gives an extra king. The order of succession of kings is also right. Dr. V. A. Smith following Pargiter's list and dates, probably based on Bramānda and Vāyu Purāṇas, gives to the 17th Āndhra King, Hāla a duration of 5 years and shows him as ruling from 49 A. D. to 54 A. D. But the Matsya Purāṇa list of Āndhra kings as rightly shown by Mr. Srikanta Sastri in the Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. 17, p. 335 gives to the same king the same duration of 5 years but the date of accession is given as 78 A. D. and not 49 A. D. as stated by Dr. V. A. Smith, in his Early history of India (IVth Ed)

This difference is due to the latter's giving to both the 19th and 22nd Āndhra kings together, 30 years more than what is given in Matsya Purāṇa. This Purāṇa as rightly suggested by Mr. G. J. Dubreuil in his Ancient History of Dekkan is really more trustworthy and hence considering the Āndhra rule to have begun about 220 B. C. as stated by most scholars and following the order and duration of kings as given in that Purāṇa, we get 78 A. D. as the date of accession of King Hāla. Now, since the Śālivāhana Śaka era is admitted by all scholars to have begun from 78 A. D. it is only natural to state that the reigning king at that time, Hāla founded it. This theory which is upheld by popular tradition is also confirmed by other evidences. Before we consider them, it is better to examine the theories that attribute the era to some one king or other of the several Non-Āndhra dynasties that ruled over various parts of India.

Firstly, there are those who state that Nahapana founded the Śaka era in 78 A. D. and who urge on behalf of this theory his claims to greatness which are based on numismatic and inscriptional evidences. But we now know from the evidence supplied by the coins and inscriptions of both the Śaka princes and Āndhra Kings that *at the same period*, the Western Śātraps were strong in W. India, the Kushānas in N. W. India and the Āndhras all over the Dekkan.

Hence, Nahapana, the Kshaharâta chief could not have founded the Śaka era. Mr. G. J. Dubreuil conclusively proves (see *His Ancient Dekkan*, pages 20 and 21 and 22) that Nahapana's years of rule are counted from 58 B. C. and his inscriptions are dated from Vikramā era of that date and not from Śaka era (78 A. D.). Mr. R. D. Banerji has also stated already in the *Journal of R. A. S.* for 1917 that Nahapana could not be the founder of the Śaka era.

Secondly, while Mr. G. J. Dubreuil mentions in his book that Chastana ascended the throne between A. D. 75—85 and probably founded the Śaka era in 78 A. D., and was acting as a Śatrap under Gautamiputra, Dr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, IV. Ed. states thus, "The events of Chastana's reign are not on record but his approximate date is easily ascertained from the facts that his grandson is known to have been reigning in A. D. 130 and 150. Chastana, therefore, may be placed in the period from about 80 A. D. to 110. These dates imply that Chastana held his office as Great Śatrap under the Kushān Dynasty, i. e., under Kāphises II according to my chronology." Thus, the two scholars differ with regard to the dates of accession and the immediate overlords of, Chastana. Dr. Sten Konow has put forward the theory that the Śaka era was founded by Kadphises II and Dr. V. A. Smith who held in his third edition of *Early History* that Kanishka founded the Śaka era has now given it up in his Fourth Ed. and stated as follows in a footnote on p. 271:—"In all probability, the Śaka era was founded by Kadphises II and possibly a new era running from the accession or from the enthronement of Kanishka came into use in N. India including Kabul and continued in use in the reigns of his successors." Further on, on page 272, he stated that Kanishka came to the throne early in the 2nd C. A. D. and probably in 120 A. D. In a footnote on the same page, he has stated thus:—"The substantial controversy is between the scholars who place the accession of Kanishka in A. D. 78 and those who date it later, in about 120 A. D. It is possible that the Kushān kings may have used a special era distinct from the Śaka but it is unlikely. If such an era was used, it began after, not before, 78 A. D. Sir J. H. Marshall, D. G. of Arch. Survey has been convinced by the direct evidence of the stratification of the remains of Taxila that Kanishka reigned in the IInd rather than the 1st century of Christian era."

Thirdly, there is the view expressed by Mr. K. P. Jayasval in the *Journal of B. O. R. S.* Vol. VI Pt. I page 22 thus, "Kushān era being identical with the era of W. Śatrapas which is accepted to be Śaka era, their dress being Scythic and they being called Śakas, Kanishka becomes the founder of the Śaka era." The learned scholar thinks that from the evidence of the statues of Kanishka and Chastana being

found together, they would be contemporaries and even relatives. At the same time, he has stated that the era of the king Kushan Kadphises must be another and earlier Saka era which began in 120 B.C. Mr. E. J. Rapson in his *Ancient India* supported this view and Dr. V. A. Smith, while supporting it in an earlier edition, has now abandoned it.

Dr. Marshall who carried on excavations at Taxilla thinks that Kanishka should have lived early in 2nd cent. A. D. According to him, distinct stratifications are found at Taxilla, viz., 1. Strata of Gonlophornes 2. Strata of Kujala Kadphises 3. Strata of Wima Kadphises 4. Strata of Kanishka. Since the formation of soil involves a lapse of time and since the coins of Wima and his predecessors alone are found at Sirkop but not those of Kanishka, he thinks that Kanishka would not have ruled there *before* Wima-Kadphises. Since the Kushans obtained possession of Taxilla about 60 A. D. and since some time should elapse between one rule and another, Kanishka cannot be held to have ruled in 78 A. D. He ruled in the 1st half of the second century A. D., and so he never founded the Saka era.

Fourthly, there is the theory of Mr. G. J. Dubreuil expressed thus on pages 34—36 of his *Ancient History of Deccan*:—"Since the Saka era was not founded either by Nahapana or by Kanishka and as Gautamiputra also was not the founder of it (No one has made this supposition) there remain but two hypotheses:—that the Saka era was founded either by Chastana or by Kadphises II. The latter opinion is held by Dr. Sten Konow who has written recently "I am still of opinion that the Saka era was established by Wima-Kadphises" *Ep. Indica* Vol. 14 p. 141.

"But even granting that Kadphises II reigned in 78—79 A. D. it has to be proved that he founded an era. We have not even a single document that can make us believe that Kadphises II has founded an era. On the contrary, if the Chir stupa inscription is dated 78—79 A. D., it will be proved that the Kushan kings used after 78 A. D., the era 58—57 B. C. and finally, granting that Kadphises II founded an era, it must be proved that this era was adopted by Chastana or his descendants. After all, the theory of Wima Kadphises having founded the Saka era is not based either upon any proof or even indication.

"There remains then but one hypothesis "The Saka era was founded by Chastana". This theory was expounded 30 years ago by Cunningham, discussed notably by Dr. Bhandarkar in *B. B. R. A.* Vol. 20, p. 210, and it was afterwards completely abandoned.

"I now wish to assert boldly that this abandonment is quite unjustified. This theory has been slighted, because, for 30 years the

historians of India have had 2 preconceived notions: 1. that the inscriptions of Āṣṭapana are dated in Śāka era 2. that the Śāka era was founded by Kanishka. I think I have proved that these 2 suppositions are now untenable. I affirm that the only natural theory concerning the Śāka era is that it was founded by Chastana.

"It is admitted on all hands that the dynasty of Chastana has used the Śāka era; and it is but natural to suppose that the founder of the dynasty was also the founder of the era used by it. Outside the kingdom of Chastana and his descendants, not a single inscription has been found which is dated in the above era. In fact, the inscriptions of the Kushān kings are not dated from Śāka era and the inscriptions dated from the same era which are found in South India are all posterior to the fall of the dynasty of Chastana.

"Thus, then, all the Śāka inscriptions that are anterior to 400 A.D. are every one of them inscriptions of the dynasty of Chastana. The era is therefore special to that dynasty.....
.....

"Therefore, the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying "The Śāka era of 78 was founded by Chastana."

Some months back, while I was reading in the pages of Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad Journal Vol. 13, p. 207 the article of Mr. M. V. Ramanacharlu on "Jain works in Prakrit", I came across certain portions of Hāla's Gādhā Sapta Śati. It is a fine collection of 700 verses taken from the Prakrit works of older poets which bear on Neeti and Sringāram (morality and erotics). The author Śatavāhana who is described as the son of Deepakarni (Vikrishna?), ruled over Pratishtānapura (Modern Paithan). Guṇādhyā, author of Brihathkatha, Śarvavarma, author of Kalāpavyākaraṇa and other prakrit poets lived at his court. From Kathāsaritsāgara, we learn that Śarvavarma was made the ruler of Bārukacha-vishaya situated on R. Narbada by king Śalavāhana and also rewarded with several princely gifts. In an amorous mood, he threw the scissors at his wife Malayavati and it killed her. We get the above account from the verses at the end of the work. Also we get the following "Kavivatsala Hāla Śalavāhanadyupanāmaka Sri Śalavāhana-nirmitā Vividhānyōktimaya Prakṛta Gīrgumbhitā śuchirasa pradhānā Kāv्यōttamā Saptasatyavasāna magāth." Bāṇa in his Harsha Charitra, Raja Sekhara and other early poets have stated that Śalavāhana, Śālavāhana, Śālīvāhana or Hāla or Śalohāla composed this Gādhāsaptasati which they praise for its fine composition. From verses like "Sapta Śataka Samāptah Śalavāhana Virachitah Kośah Hālasya Śalavahanah" and other literary evidences, we learn that king Hāla, the 17 Andhra King as given in the Matsya

Purāṇa had the titles named above. Further, from Amarakōṣa, we learn that Śūdraka, Hāla and other Kings also had the title of Vikramāditya. Hāla himself refers in his Saptasāti to a certain Vikramāditya whose real name is said to be Śūdraka. This prince may be said to have founded the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. by defeating the Śakas of Malwa. Hāla's reference to him therefore is a proof of his having lived after him. Tradition is strong in asserting that Vikramāditya (Śālivāhana) defeated the alien Śakas near Karur and established his era, "Śālivāhana Śakābda" which has been popular all over South India from the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and which has been used by all South Indian dynasties commencing from Pallavas. The substitution of the Vikrama era in its 135th year, i.e., 78 A.D. by Śālivāhana era seems to be an event of South India and this must be due to the valour and greatness of an Āndhra King. Moreover, the use of Vikrama era in North India and the absence of Śālivāhana era in the records of North Indian dynasties clearly strengthens this argument. The very fact that from the 4th century A.D. onwards, the Śālivāhana era came to be used by the Pallavas who were Āndhra Brūtyas and who succeeded to their political power and also by other South Indian dynasties shows that it was founded by one of the kings of the Imperial Āndhra dynasty that ruled for 4½ centuries over the whole of Dekkan and some parts of Transvin-dhyān India. No doubt, some scholars attribute it to Gautami putra, the 23rd Āndhra king owing to the statements in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions but chronological difficulties stand in the way. In the light of the statements quoted above from Hāla's Saptasāti that Hāla and Śālivāhana were one and the same and in view of the Matsya-Purāṇic evidence that Hāla, the 17th Āndhra king ruled from 78 to 83 A.D. [owing to Śāta Karṇi's (the 3rd Āndhra king's) reign synchronising with Kharavela's reign and Pulomayi's (24th Āndhra King's) reign synchronising with the lives of Ptolemy on the one hand and Rudradāman on the other, we get by calculation the same years for Hāla's reign] and taking into consideration the fact that popular tradition has always attributed the era to Śālivāhana—clearly an Āndhra dynastic name and not foreign—and considering also that Chastana—a Śaka Satrap who was clearly a subordinate to Āndhra Kings and who adopted the same symbols on coins as those of Āndhras and who ruled as viceroy over western parts of Āndhra Empire which remained in it till the middle of the 2nd century A.D.—could not be supposed to have founded an era as there is no record left, I take it that Hāla alone, by virtue of his political greatness as well as literary merits founded the Śālivāhana era after him, an era which was soon used by his political successors, the Bānas and the Pallavas. The Śaka years 261 and 380 which are found in the Bāna and Pallava inscriptions, (Please vide p. 336 Mythic Society Journal vol. 17) seem

to be the earliest so far known and further researches may reveal some more records in which they may be mentioned.

Recently, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi has obtained a Prakṛit work called *Leelāvatī* a brief account of which has already appeared in *Bharati* and from this work, I learn the following historically interesting facts which go to prove how Hāla won great victories far and wide, during the short time he ruled.

The name of the author is not given in the work. It contains nearly 1350 verses. There are several anecdotes but the most important historical theme is that supplied by Hāla's commander Vijayā-nanda to him. His conquests in Ceylon on behalf of his master Hāla are described. The Ceylonese King, Siṅgaśreya had a daughter Leelāvatī by his Gandharva wife, Śarasvati. She came and lived near 'Śapta Gōdāvari Bhīmam'. Vijayānanda, after his military exploits in Ceylon camped on the way with his troops at the same place and learnt the story of the Gandharva child Leelāvatī who remained in the vicinity of the Bhavāni temple near 'Śapta Gōdāvari Bhīmam'. After his return to the capital, he narrates the whole story to his Suzerein Hāla, who then goes to the place 'Śapta Gōdāvari Bhīmam' which is probably the Drākshārāma Bhīmeswaram in Godavari Dt., kills the demon Pūṣkara-nāna and marries Leelāvatī, after visiting the residence of her father, the Simhalese King and then returns to his capital which is called, "Svabhukti Viśayā Pratishtānam". In this work, the name Hāla is referred to in verse 867 and Śālāhara in 837, and Hāla is called Śālāvāhara Narinda in 939 verse. Hāla is thus not only a great patron of letters but also a great warrior who defeated the Simhalese in the south and the Śakas and other foreign tribes in western India. No wonder, therefore, he is considered by popular tradition as the Founder of the Śālīvāhara Śaka era.

Mr. G. J. Dubreuil's theory that Chastana founded the Śālīvāhara Śaka era is based, according to his own admission, on a *hypothesis* which he tries to turn into a fact. His statement, that the era was *special* to Śaka dynasty and that it was not used by other dynasties before 400 A.D. does not hold good in the light of the references to the same being found now. Further, it is hard to believe that Chastana founded the Śaka era in 78 A.D. when we do not get any recorded evidence to the effect and when we also consider that the Śakas, at that time, were only the political subordinates of the Andhras, whose rule over the western provinces lasted till the middle of the 3rd century A.D. and who ruled as the Imperial Sovereigns of the whole of the Dekkan at that time. Besides, literary and Purāṇic evidences as pointed out above, are so strong that we have to consider 'Hāla Śālīvāhara' as having ascended the throne in 78 A.D. and founded the Śālīvāhara Śaka.

REPORT OF MUKHALINGAM CONFERENCE.

"Kalinga Day" Celebration.

Under the auspices of the Society, the *Kalinga Day* was celebrated at Mukhalingam in Parlakimidi Taluq on the 16th, 17th and 18th June 1927. Several scholars from all parts of the country attended and made the function a complete success. Among those present were:—

Meera. 1. Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A.B.L., M.L.C. 2. Raja Vikrama Dev Varma. 3. Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu B.A. 4. Sri Nilakanta Doss Mahasayo M.A., M.L.A. 5. Sri S. B. Ratho Mahasayo Ex. M.L.C. 6. Sri Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B.C.E. 7. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur. 8. M. Trilechana Patro. 9. Duwada Nandesam Choudari. 10. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M.A. 11. H. Tatanna Naidu. 12. B. Jaganadham Naidu. 13. K. Ranganayakulu Naidu. 14. B. Chinnababu Naidu. 15. P. Swamy Babu. 16. C. Narayana Rao M.A.L.T. 17. P. Linganna. 18. G. Dharma Rao M.A. 19. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. 20. B. V. Krishna Rao B.A.B.L. 21. M. Somasekhara Sarma. 22. V. Satyanarayana B.A. 23. G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. 24. Lingam Tammayya Dora. 25. G. Narasinga Rao B.A.L.T. 26. G. V. Seetapathy B.A.L.T. 27. B. Mallaya Sastry. 28. V. Narayana Sastry. 29. G. Ramdas B.A. 30. V. Sriram B.A. 31. C. Veerabhadra Rao. 32. K. Sambamurty Sastry. Owing to severe rains, many more scholars who were expected to attend could not come.

The Raja Sahab of Parlakimidi who was graciously pleased to make all arrangements for the reception, boarding and lodging of the delegates and visitors was unavoidably absent and the same was keenly felt by one and all of us.

The President of the conference, Sir A. P. Patro and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu as well as several members of the Reception Committee and delegates arrived at Mukhalingam on the 15th June '27.

On the morning of 16th June, the proceedings began with a procession round the village. The Gathering which numbered over a hundred enjoyed much, the songs sung by the Kalingas in praise of God Mukhalingeswara. After visiting the temple, the gathering returned to the spacious hall of the Rajah's Bungalow. In the unavoidable absence of Sri Raja of Parlakimidi, for which the Society keenly regrets, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu opened the Conference as well as the Historical Exhibition. The following were the chief objects exhibited:—

(1) *Copper-plate Inscriptions*:—Boddapadu plates of Vajrabasta, Kambakaya plates of Devendravarma, Narasannapeta plates of Vajrabasta and Cheedivasa plates Devendravarma.

(2) *Impressions of Korni-plates* of Anantavarma Chodaganga—Two sets.

(3) *Bricks and other ancient relics* from Kalingapattnam and Salihundam.

(4) *Gangavamsanu Charitra* (manuscript) and documents containing old treaties of Vizianagar.

(5) *A stone image of Buddha* showing "Bhumi Sparsa Mudra"

(6) *Two stone Pillars* containing several panels showing human sacrifices among Savaras, Parvati and Parameswara, Buddhist monks preaching to the people and other scenes.....

While opening the Historical exhibition, Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu dwelt at length on the excellent need and value of such exhibitions and pointed out the historical importance of the several exhibits. While opening the Conference, he regretted much for the absence of the Raja Saheb of Parlakimidi and then read in Telugu his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. In welcoming the delegates and visitors, he expressed thanks to the A. H. R. Society and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for arranging the conference of scholars who would read papers or discuss matters relating to Kalinga history. In his usual scholarly and learned manner, he dealt with the origin of the words 'Gangas' 'Kalingas' and "Tri-Kalingas" and stated that the limits of the Kalinga Empire changed very often. He then gave an account of the heroic part played by Kalingas in the Mahabharata war and later on. He gave many thought provoking suggestions which need further research. After the address was over,

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., Jt. Secretary of the society proposed the election of Sir A.P. Patro, Kt., to the Chairmanship of the conference, and it was seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A.B.L. and approved unanimously. Mr. R. Subba Rao, then, read messages, expressing inability to attend but wishing the conference complete success from, the Rajah Saheb of Kalliketa and Attagada, the Raja Saheb of Chikati. Hon' Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.A., P.H.D., Chief Minister, Hon' A. Ranganatha Mudaliar M.L.C. Second Minister, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M.A. P.H.D., Sri L. N. Deb M.R.A.S. Yuvaraj of Tekkali, Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, Ghulam Yazdani Esq., M.A., Archaeological Superintendent, Nizam's Government, Sri Gopabandhu Das Maha'ayo, Sri Gcdavaris Misro Mahasayo, and Messrs J. Ramayya Pantulu, President of the Society, K. Raghavachari M.A.B.L., Secretary of Telugu Academy, P. Mahanty M A., P. V. Jagadis Iyer and others.

The President of the Conference who rose amidst cheers then read his address in Telugu, He first of all expressed his thanks

to the society for honouring him thus and to the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping in the arrangement of the Conference. He then referred to the history of his and other Kalinga families still living in *Uddanam* and other places and gave a vivid and detailed account of the Kalingas from the Epic times to the Gajapati rule. He considered that Mukhalingam was the Capital of the Kalinga Empire under the Gangas and in conclusion gave a very interesting account of the social and economic conditions prevailing among the Kalingas at present. His address which was very instructive was listened to with rapt attention. With this, the morning session came to a close.

In the evening, the Conference met again at 2 P.M. M. R. Ry. Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur Garu, read very interesting verses on the Kalinga Day Celebration.

The papers of *Messrs* 1. C Narayan Rao M.A.L.T. on 'Kalinga in Epic Age'. 2. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T. on 'Ancient and Medieval History of Kalinga Desa'. 3. Pandit Nilkanta Das Mahasaya, M.A. M. L. A., on "Ancient Kalinga". 4. P. Swamibabu on "Kalinga Vaisyas". 5. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A. on 'Orissa'. 6. K. Iswar Dutt, B.A on 'Vizianagar Kings and Kalinga wars'. 7. S. G. Krishnamurty on "The Life and Times of Anantavarma Choda Ganga" were then read and discussed. All these papers which contained highly instructive and interesting matter were well appreciated by the scholars present. The evening session then came to a close.

In the night, Pandit Kavyatirtha B. Mallayya Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi College gave readings from Mahabharata in a novel Harikatha style, which combined easy delivery, clear exposition and fine music.

On the morning of 17th June, the Conference again assembled under the presidentship of Sir A. P. Patro. The proceedings began with a prayer conducted by Brahmasri V. Suryanarayana Sastry Garu of Parlakimidi. Mr. V. Satyanarayana B.A., read verses on Kalinga Day. Then, the reading of papers was resumed. Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao, the Veteran Historian of the Andhras, suggested new interpretations for 'Vela' and other terms found in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and pointed out the necessity for still further research.

Then the papers of *Messrs* L. Tammayya Dora on 'Caves in Kalinga Desa', Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, M.A., P.H.D. on "Ganga Vamsanu Charitra", G. Ramdas, B.A.M.B.A.S. on "the Chronology of the Early Gangas", Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu, B.A. on 'Savaras', G. V. Raghava Rao B.A. on "Ellamancha-Kalinga" and G. V. Sestapathy on "Language of Kalingadesa" were read.

In the evening, the delegates and members went about the village to study the remains and antiquities of the place. The party led by Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Gara visited the three ancient temples of the place, Viz., Someswara, Aniyanka Bhimeswara and Madhukeswara or Mukhalingeswara and studied in detail the inscriptions and sculptures.

In the night, Mr. C. Euchana Pantulu of Parlakimidi, entertained the members to Veena Play and Vocal Music, which were highly appreciated.

On the 18th Morning, Photographs of the members of the Reception Committee and of Delegates as well as the Historical Exhibition and of the several Temples and Sculptures therein were taken. A Photograph of a few typical Kālingas was also taken.

In the evening, the Study of the Arts and Sculptures as well as Inscriptions found in the Mukhalingam temple was resumed and Mr. G. Ramdos of Jeypore explained several important Sculptures and in particular, the Stone Image found on the wall of the temple treasury room has been stated to be a figure of Vajrahasta V.

From a close study of the Art and Sculpture *in Situ*, the party came to a conclusion that the *Kalinga Art* was wrongly called by Fergusson and others as *Orissan in Style*, because it was the same Anantavarma Chodaganga that built the temples in both Mukhalingam and Bhuvanewar.

In the night, Messrs B. Mallaya Sastry, V. Satyanarayana and T. Surya Prasad Rao Bahadur entertained the members with Vocal Music and recitations from literary and historical compositions.

Several gentlemen present announced very generously Donations, a list of which is appended. The grateful thanks of the society are particularly due to Sir A. P. Patro and Sri Raja Vikrama Dex Varma Gara who not only gave liberal donations but helped the society in every way.

The following resolution which was moved by Mr. B. V. Krishnareao B.A.B.L. and seconded by Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam B.A.L.T., was carried unanimously amidst applause by the whole Conference:—

"Resolved, that this Conference, held under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, while keenly regretting the unavoidable absense of the Raja of Parlakimidi, do place on record its grateful thanks to him for having graciously helped in the celebration of the Kalinga Memorial Day at Mukhalingam in a fitting manner and for showing generous hospitality to all delegates and visitors."

Sir A. P. Patro, in bringing the proceedings to a close remarked that it was highly creditable for the Society to have brought

about a Conference of Research Scholars from various parts of the Country and to have produced such excellent results which would soon fructify in the production of an authoritative History of Kalinga Desa in a short time under the able editorship of Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. He also expressed heartfelt thanks to the Raja of Parlakimidi and to the Joint Secretaries of the Society for arranging this Conference. He would look forward for the History of the Country to be brought out, bit by bit, by the research scholars of the Society. Lastly, he expressed his satisfaction at the realisation of his dream and that of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and thanked all the scholars who read original papers and thus contributed to the History of Kalinga.

Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., Joint Secretary of the Society and Editor 'Kalinga Sanchika' proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Raja of Parlakimidi for helping the society in holding the Conference so successfully, to the Rajas of Kallikot and Attagada Estates and Chikati for graciously consenting to be patrons, to Sir A. P. Patro for having presided and successfully conducted the proceedings and for helping the society with munificent donations, to Sri Raja Vikrama Dev Varma Garu, who in spite of his old age, cheerfully consented to be Chairman of the Reception Committee and helped the Society in several ways, to the Donors and members of the Reception Committee who helped the society so liberally, to the Delegates and Visitors who read papers, to Messrs Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu and his son, G. V. Seetapathy for looking after all arrangements for the guests and for making the Conference, in spite of bad weather, such a real success and last but not least, to Mr. I. Kanakachellam Pantulu M.A.L.T., of Parlakimidi.

On behalf of the Society, he also expressed keen regret for his absence owing to ill-health. As a member of the Kalinga committee and as one responsible for the successful celebration of the Kalinga Day, he took not a little trouble in making all arrangements for the function. With a prayer to Almighty, the Conference came to a successful close.

APPENDIX A.

Sri Raja Ramachendra Marda Raja Dev Bahadur Vary,
Raja of Kallikota and Attagada Estates very generously sent a donation of Rs. 300 to the Treasurer in May '27.

LIST OF DONATIONS PROMISED AND PAID ON THE
 OCCASION OF KALINGA DAY AT MUKHALINGAM,
 17TH JUNE '27.

<i>Messrs.</i>	<i>Promised.</i>	<i>Paid.</i>
1. Kembavi Srinivasa Rao Parlakimidi.	Rs. 10—0—0	
2. Andhavarapu Lakshmanamurthi, } Hiramandalam.	10—0—0	10—0—0
3. Potnuri Swamibabu, Narasannapeta.	10—0—0	10—0—0
4. Boddapalli Ramamurthi Naidu, } Kannyala Velasa P. O., } Anudalavalasa.	10—0—0	5—0—0
5. Moonangi Rajita Narayanamurthi.	10—0—0	10—0—0
6. Boddapalli Chinna Babu Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
7. Boddapalli Jaganatham Naidu.	60—0—0	5—0—0
8. Kona Raghunayakulu Naidu.	10—5—0	5—0—0
9. Duvvada Nandesam Choudari.	150—0—0	70—0—0
10. Tripurana Surya Prasada Rao.	50—0—0	
11. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu.	10—0—0	
12. G. V. Sitapati.	10—0—0	
13. Gade Narasinga Rao.	10—0—0	
14. I. Kanakachalam.	10—0—0	
15. Sir A. P. Patro.	500—0—0	
16. Raja Sri Vikrama Dev Varma.	50—0—0	50—0—0
17. Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.	10—0—0	
18. H. Tatanna Naidu.	10—0—0	10—0—0
	<hr/> Rs. 990—0—0 <hr/>	<hr/> 180—0—0 <hr/>

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND ESSAYS FOR KALINGA SANCHIKA.

Messrs.

1. N. Subramanyam M. A., L. T., ... Map of Kalinga Empire.
2. N. Sundaram Pantulu ... Kalinga Rajya Kshetra Prasamsa.
3. P. Swamibabu ... Kalinga Vaisyas.
4. N. Venkataramana, B. A., ... Kalinga Sataka Literature.
5. Sri Jagabandu Singh ... Kalingas.
6. A. Ramarao B. A., ... Forgotten Kalinga Andhra Poets.
7. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Mukhalinga Kshetra Mahatyam Verses.
8. Sri Vikrama Dev Varma ... Kalinga Desa.
9. Do. ... 'Kalinga Day' address.
10. Sir. A. P. Patro, B. A., B. L., ... Kalinga Rajyam.
11. Sri Satyanarayana Raju ... Prachina Odra Jati.
12. Sri L. N. Deb ... Kalinga.
13. J. Venkata Krishna Rao B. A., ... Kalinga Samrajyam.
14. C. Narayana Row M. A., L. T. ... Kalinga Edicts of Asoka.
15. B. V. Krishna Rao B. A., B. L. ... Mukhalinga Nagaram.
16. G. V. Seetapati B. A., L. T. ... Korni plates.
17. V. Satyanarayana ... Verses on Mukhalingam.
18. K. Ragavacharlu M. A., B. L. Prachina Kalinga Desa Charitra.
19. K. Iswar Dutt B. A., Vijayanagaram Emperors and Kalinga wars.
20. M. V. Ramanacharlu Mukhalinga kshetra Mahatyam-Prose.
21. A. Jaghanada Rao B. A., B. L. ... Khonds.
22. V. Satyanarayana ... Kalingas of Dantapura.
23. Sri Tripurana Surya Prasad Rao ... Verses on Kalinga Day.
24. V. Suryanarayanasastry ... Verses.
25. G. Ramdoss, B. A., ... Kalinga.
26. B. H. Narayanamurty ... Kalinga in 1800.
27. L. Tammaya Dora ... Kalinga Cave Temples.
28. G. V. Ragava Rao B. A., ... Kalinga-Elamanchali.
29. S. G. Krishnamurty ... Life and times of Anantavarman.
30. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. Ancient and Medieval History of Kalinga.
31. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M. A., PH. D. Gangavamsanu Charitra.
32. G. Ramdoss B. A., ... Kalinga Art.
33. G. Narasinga Rao B. A., L. T. ... Capital of Kalinga.
34. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu B. A., ... Savaras.
35. G. V. Seetapathy B. A., L. T. ... Language in Kalinga Desa.
36. K. Sambamurty Sastry Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarma.
37. Hirananda Sastry M. A., ... Kalingas in Far East.
38. K. R. Subramanyam M. A., ... Religious history of Kalinga.
39. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar M. A., ... Orissa.
40. Pandit Nilkanta Das M. A., M. L. A., ... Ancient Kalinga.
41. M. Somasekhara Sarma ... E. Chalukyas and E. Gangas.
42. C. Veerabhadra Rao ... Kalingas.
43. V. Apparao B. A., B. L. Hathigumpā Inscription of Kharavela.

REVIEWS.

I

*Selections from Sanskrit inscriptions Part I—Text by
Mr. D. B. Diskalkar M.A., Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot. Rs 1.*

Mr. Diskalkar has rendered the student of Indian History a real service by the publication. Here, we have got the texts of about fifteen inscriptions ranging from the 2nd Century to the 8th Century A. D., printed in Devanagari characters. The inscriptions are selected with a view to illustrate passages possessing literary merit and to popularise Indian Epigraphy. The student of Sanskrit literature is treated to a refreshing repast of poetry moulded in the Kavya style. We know now from published inscriptions that it is one of the duties of a court poet variously styled as 'Vidyādhikari', Sandhi-Vigrahi or 'Śāsanādhikāri' to compose the text of an inscription, whenever a gift is made; or when a victory was obtained against a neighbouring King; and that is the occasion for the poet to describe his 'Liege Lord' and his ancestors in eulogistic terms.

Lovers of the poetry of Nature may find it relieving to go through the description of the storm in the beginning of the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman in the present volume. Very little resort is made to the Alankara Sastra; the language is simple and most effective. We have not yet come across such a soul-capturing description of a storm elsewhere in all Sanskrit literature.

Though the present compilation is not made with a view to place before the Historian, passages of historical interest yet, we have here inscriptions of great historical value such as Rudradāman's Girnar inscription, Samudra-Gupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, and the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II. The book is enriched by a thoughtful introduction from the pen of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B. A., retired Govt Epigraphist for India. Many of the inscriptions are taken from Fleet's 'Gupta inscriptions,' a volume which is not easily available at present. This book may well find a place on the shelf of every lover of Epigraphy and Literature.

V. A. R.

II

Annual report of Watson Museum for the year 1925-26.

This is the only institution of the kind throughout the province of Guzerat doing useful Historical Research work. The Hon'y Secretary states in his report that the financial position of the Museum is not satisfactory. We hope that the committee governing the institution will take some efficient steps, for realising funds and putting the institution on a sound financial basis. Mr. Diskalkar, the Curator of the Museum has done useful Research work by publishing articles in various Oriental Journals in addition to his routine duties. His work deserves praise.

V. A. R.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 30-4-1927.

Present:

M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram Garu (in the chair).
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
R. Subbarao Garu.
N. Kameswararao Garu.

Resolutions.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their consent, be admitted as the members of the Society.

- Messrs.
1. V. Purnayya, District Munsif, Bezwada.
 2. Ch. Suryanarayana, High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
 3. N. V. Yogananda Rao, " " Rajahmundry.
 4. N. Venkataramiah, " " Rajahmundry.
 5. M. Sambasiva Rao, pleader, Rajahmundry.
 6. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Professor, Vizianagaram.
 7. L. V. Bhadrappa, B. A., Pleader, Ellore.
 8. P. Seshagiri Rao, B. A., Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.
 9. P. Venkatachalam, Inamdar, Behampore.
 10. G. Narasinga Rao, B. A., L. T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.
2. Resolved that the following member be considered to have resigned:—

K. Seetharamasarma.

3. Resolved that the following exchanges be accepted:—
 1. Puranagranthamalika, Pittapuram.
 2. Modern Review, Calcutta.
 3. Publications of the Musée Guimet, Paris.
 4. Publications of the Watson Museum, Rajkot.
4. Resolved that the accounts of the Society for the month of April 1927 be passed.
5. Resolved that the Editorial board for the year 1927-28 be composed of the following gentlemen:—

M. R. Ry. 1. C. Atmaram Garu (Editor).
2. B. V. Krishnarao Garu.
3. V. Apparao Garu.
4. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu.
5. R. Subbarao Garu.
6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. J. Ganganna Garu, B. A., L. T., be a member of the Council in the place of M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, resigned.
7. Resolved that the Joint Secretaries be requested to interview the Rajah of Parlakimidi and arrange for the speedy celebration of the Kalinga day and that their expenses be met.

(Sd.) C. Atmaram.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 20-5-1927.

M. R. Ry. C. Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu Garu (in the chair).
 B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
 R. Subbarao Garu.
 N. Kameswara Rao Garu.
 V. Apparao Garu.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society.

Messrs. B. China Yaganarayana Sarma, Madugula Vizag Dt.
 M. V. Sundara Rao, Inamdar, Anakapalle.
 S. Venkata Sambasivarao, B.A., L.T., Head-Master, Mandasa
 T. Pattabhiramayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
 Garimella Seetharamayya, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
 K. Apparao Nayudu, B. A., B. L., Vakil, Berhampore.
 B. Nageswararao, B. A., L. T., Teacher, Ichapuram.
 P. Jagannadhaswami, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, Parlakimidi.
 Y. Ramamurthi, M. A., L. T., Lecturer, College, Berhampore.
 V. V. Jogiah Garu, B. A., Pleader, Berhampore.
 K. Suryanarayana, B.A., L.T., Teacher, College, Berhampore.
 R. V. Ramanamurthi, M. A., B. L. Vakil, Berhampore.
 W. Ramalingam, B. A., L. T., Chairman,
 Municipal Council, Berhampore.
 S. V. Sivaramasarma, Rajupalem, Ramnad Dt.

2. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. V. V. Sarma of his membership be accepted.
3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted:—
 1. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
 2. Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrica, Mysore.
 3. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
 4. Man In India, Bombay.
 5. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

4. Resolved that the advertisements of Book-sellers, Publishers, and of such other traders be accepted and the following rates be fixed:—

<i>Title page, inner-side,</i>		<i>per quarter.</i>		<i>per year.</i>
full	...	Rs. 25	...	Rs. 100
half	...	Rs. 15	...	Rs. 50
quarter	...	Rs. 8	...	Rs. 30
<i>Title page, outer-side,</i>				
full	...	Rs. 30	...	Rs. 120
half	...	Rs. 18	...	Rs. 60
quarter	...	Rs. 10	...	Rs. 40

5. Resolved that the accounts from 1-5-1927 to 20-5-1927 be passed.
6. Resolved that M. R. Ry. I. Kanakachalam Pantulu Garu be requested to visit Cuttack and such other places to do work in connection with the Kalinga Day celebration and that he be paid expenses by the Society.

(Sd.) Chilukuri Virabhadra Row,
20-5-1927.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 2-6-1927.

(Resolutions passed by circulation.)

1. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajakrishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Devu Bahadur Varu, Rajah of Paralakimidi for having graciously consented, to open the Kalinga Day proceedings, and to render all help in connection with the Kalinga Day celebrations.
2. Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Sri Sri Rajah Ramachandra Marda Raja Devu Bahadur Varu, Raja of Kallikota and Attagada for his having graciously consented to become a Patron of the Society and for having sent a handsome donation of Rs. 300/- to the Society.
3. Resolved to request Mr. M. S. Sarma of Madras to bring materials for the Historical Exhibition at Mukhalingam as a loan and to incur all the incidental charges thereto.
4. Resolved to sanction travelling allowance to the Joint Secretaries, to and from, Mukhalingam and to empower them to incur all the incidental charges thereto, in connection with the celebration of the Kalinga Day and the publication of Kalinga Sanchika and that an initial sum of Rs. 100 be advanced for the purpose.

(Sd.) R. Subbarao,
B. V. Krishna Rao.
N. Kameswara Rao.
V. Apparao.

Proceedings of the Council meeting held on 7-7-1927.

Present :

M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Garu (in the chair).
R. Subbarao Garu.
B. V. Krishna Rao Garu.
C. Atmaram Garu.
V. Apparao Garu.

1. Resolved that the following gentlemen, having signified their assent, be admitted as members of the Society :—

Messrs. 1. M. Trilochana Patro, Berhampore.

2. Pataneni Veeranna B. A.;

3. P. Mallikharjuna Rao, Inamdar, Rajahmundry.

4. Sriman Harischandra Padhi Mahasayo B. C. E.
Engineer, Berhampore.

5. Burra Hume Sastri B. A., B. L., Vakil, Vizag.

6. R. Seshagirirao, Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.

7. C. Sambasivarao B. A., Bar-at-law, Madras.

8. P. Swami Babu, Inamdar, Narasannapeta.

9. T. S. Prasada Rao Bahadur, Inamdar, Siddhantam.

2. Resolved that the following gentlemen be considered to have resigned :—

Messrs. N. J. Prasadarayudu Garu.

J. Somasekhara Rao.

K. Narasimha Rao.

3. Resolved that the following Exchanges be accepted :—

1. Jayanti, Masulipatam.

2. Smithsonian Annual Report, Washington.

4. Resolved that the accounts submitted by the Joint Secretaries regarding Kalinga Day celebrations be approved.

5. Resolved that the expenditure incurred by the treasurer in going to Waltair to interview the Maharaja of Jeypore viz., Rs. 9-9-0 be approved.

6. Resolved that the accounts from 21-5-1927 to 7-7-1927 be passed.

7. Resolved that the following agenda be placed at the next general body meeting :—

1. Election of Patrons.

2. Election of Hon. Presidents.

3. Election of Hon. Correspondents.

4. Any other matter of which previous notice is given to the Secretaries.

8. Resolved that a reading room and library be started.

(Sd). N. Kameswara Rao,

7-7-27.

**List of members who paid their subscriptions
during the quarter ending with 31-3-27.**

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs.	Rs.
1. G. Ramdas	4- 0-0	11. V. Subrahmanyam	3- 2-0
2. K. Ramamurti	3- 0-0	12. V. Jagapati Varma	4- 0-0
3. C. Bhimasena Rao	3- 2-0	13. C. V. Hanumantha Rao	2- 0-0
4. V. Sriram	3- 0-0	14. A. Rangaswami Saraswati	3- 2-0
5. V. Subbarao	4- 0-0	15. G. Dharmarao	3- 2-0
6. S. Kameswara Rao, B.L.	4- 0-0	16. D. R. Bhandharkar	3- 2-0
7. Ch. Venkata Rao	2- 0-0	17. D. L. Narasimham	4- 2-0
8. R. Krishna Row Bonsle	3- 2-0	18. S. Venkatramiah	2- 0-0
9. V. Pichayya	3- 2-0	19. G. J. Dubriel (26-28)	6- 0-0
10. Vikrama Deo Varma	3- 2-0		
			<hr/>
			Rs. 63- 2-0
			<hr/>

**List of subscribers to journal who paid their subscriptions
during the quarter ending 31-3-27.**

Literary Association, Cocanada (half year).	3- 2-0
Principal, A. E. L. M. College, Guntur.	6- 4-0
Librarian Imperial Library, Calcutta.	6- 4-0
	<hr/>
	Rs. 15-10-0
	<hr/>

**List of Donations received during the quarter ending
31-3-27**

Maharaja Sri R. V. K. M. Surya Rao Bahadur }	300- 0-0
Varu Maharaja of Pithapuram.	
Sri Vadrevu Viswasundara Rao Bahadur.	Rs. 25- 0-0
	<hr/>
	Rs. 325- 0-0
	<hr/>
<i>Grand total for the Quarter</i>	Rs. 403-12-0
	<hr/>

**List of members who paid their subscriptions
during the quarter ending with 30-6-27**

Messrs.	Rs.	Messrs	Rs. .
1. L. V. Bhadrappa (26-27)	6- 0-0	12. V. V. Sarma	4- 0-0
2. C. Somayajulu	3- 2-0	13. P. Venkatachalam	3- 0-0
3. R. Subbarao B.L.	4- 0-0	14. V. Lakshmana Rao	3- 2-0
4. S. S. Setlur (27 to 29)	6- 0-0	15. Unnava Ramalingam	3- 0-0
5. Vādreva Bapiraju	3- 0-0	16. S. V. Sambasiva Rao	3- 0-0
6. P. Bhadrappa	2- 0-0	17. G. Sitaramiah	3- 2-0
7. A. Perraju Sarma	3- 0-0	18. S. V. Sivarama Sarma	3- 2-0
8. Vaddadi Apparao	4- 0-0	19. V. V. Jogiah	3- 2-0
9. Vepa Purnayya	3- 0-0	20. B. Ch. Yegnarayanna	3- 2-0
10. M. Sambasiva Rao	4- 0-0	21. Harischandra Padhi	3- 0-0
11. T. Purushottam	1- 0-0	22. Trilochana Patro.	3- 0-0
			<hr/>
			Rs. 73-12-0
			<hr/>

**List of subscribers to journal who paid their subscriptions
during the quarter ending 30-6-27**

Royal Asiatic Society, London.	6-10-0
Librarian, Dacca University.	6- 0-0
	<hr/>
Rs.	12-10-0
	<hr/>

**List of Donations received during the quarter
ending 30-6-27**

Sri Raja Rama Chendra Marda Raja Dev Bahadur } Varu, Raja of Kallikota and Attagada	Rs. 300-0-0
Mr. Chilukuri Narayana Rao	5-0-0
	<hr/>
	305-0-0
	<hr/>
<i>Grand total for the Quarter</i>	Rs. 391-6-0
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N. Kameswara Rao,
Treasurer.

THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
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Vol. II

OCTOBER 1927.

No. 2

THE NYAYA CONCEPTION OF VALID THINKING

By Mr. K. GOPALKRISHNAMMA, M.A., L.T.,

According to the Nyaya school, consciousness (बुद्धिः) exists in two forms, viz—i. direct apprehension (अनुभवः) and ii. remembrance (स्मृतिः). Direct apprehension which may be defined as consisting in the presentation of things, is of two kinds—true (प्रमा) and false (अप्रमा). True apprehension is that which is in consonance with the real character of the thing apprehended, or that which presents the thing just as it really is. For instance, a pot before us is said to be truly apprehended when it is perceived as an object possessing the real distinctive feature of a pot. False apprehension or error consists in the knowing of a thing as what it is not. For instance, a piece of shell before the eye is said to be falsely apprehended when it is perceived as silver which it is really not. Four varieties of such true apprehension are distinguished in conscious experience, and found to be produced respectively by four instruments of right cognition—i. Sense-perception ii. Inference iii. Analogy and iv. Oral testimony. For instance, (i) by means of the normal eye we have the apprehension of a jar and such other things; this kind of apprehension is known as sense-perception (प्रत्यक्षम्). (ii) By means of the smoke as the indicative mark (अनुमानम्), we have the apprehension of fire; this kind of apprehension

is known as Inferential cognition (अनुमितिः). (iii). By the perception of the similarity to the cow, we have the apprehension of the fact of a particular animal bearing the name of Gavaya (गवयः). Here the resulting knowledge of the relation of words to their meanings is called 'knowledge by analogy' (उपमितिः). (4) By means of such sentences as 'one desiring heaven should perform the Jyotishtoma sacrifice', we get at the apprehension of the fact that the Jyotishtoma sacrifice is the means of attaining heaven.

Remembrance also is of two kinds,—(i) true or false—according as it is, or is not, in consonance with the real character of the thing remembered. Both these kinds of remembrance occur during waking time; in dreams all the cognition that exists, is of the nature of such remembrance as is not in consonance with the real thing.

It would be interesting as well as edifying to know the rationale underlying these four instruments of right cognition as accepted by the Naiyāyika. It has been accepted by all the exponents of Śāstras, as a fundamental principle of exposition, that, before establishing a doctrine, all probable and possible objections to that doctrine should be anticipated, discussed and refuted on valid grounds. In accordance with this principle the Naiyāyika who seeks to establish the necessity for recognising the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition, sets forth for a critical examination the peculiar theory of Cārvāka the crest-jewel of the atheistic school, in respect of valid thinking. The leading doctrines of the Cārvāka system are briefly as follows:—The only object of human pursuit (पुरुषार्थः) consists in wealth and enjoyment resulting from contact with sensible objects. While life remains, let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs into debt. When once the body becomes ashes, it can never return again. There is no such thing as happiness in a future world. There is no other heaven than pleasure derived from the objects of this world. There is no other hell than pain produced by purely mundane causes, such as diseases, harmful animals, thorns etc. There is no soul in another world; nor is there any other Liberation than the dissolution of the body. The four elements—earth, water, fire and air—are the original principles. From these alone, when transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, just as intoxicating power is developed from the mixture of certain specific ingredients, and when these are destroyed, intelligence also perishes at once. Therefore what is known as the soul in the other systems is no other than the body distinguished by the attribute of intelligence. This is because there is no evidence for any soul distinct from the body. Perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) is accepted

as the only source of knowledge, and it can by no means manifest the existence of any soul distinct from the body.

It is in the light of the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body, that such usages as "I am stout", "I am fair" etc, are at once intelligible. For the self-consciousness represented by 'I', coexists with the attributes of stoutness, fairness etc, in the substratum (the body). If however the Naiyāyika says that he can prove by Inferential Reasoning (अनुमानम्) the existence of a soul distinct from the body, my reply is as follows: The object of the Naiyāyika could be gained only if it be possible to prove Reason (हेतुः) to be an instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्) in the strict sense of the term; but it would not be possible. For, Reason (= middle term = हेतुः) as recognised by the Naiyāyikas, is such an object that, on perceiving it in a certain place (= minor term = पक्षः), we are led to conclude the existence in the same place of another object (major term = साध्यम्) closely connected with the first-perceived object. For instance, when we observe smoke (हेतुः) issuing from a mountain (पक्षः), we at once conclude that fire (साध्यम्) also must exist in the same mountain. Here the conclusion refers to the existence in the mountain of fire, and no other object, because fire alone is supposed to be invariably connected with smoke. Thus it would appear that those who maintain the authority of Reason (हेतुः) as a source of right knowledge, must necessarily accept that the possibility of a valid conclusion regarding the existence of the major term (साध्यम्) is evidently based on the existence of the relation of invariable concomitance (व्याप्तिः) between the major term (साध्यम्) and the middle term (हेतुः) from which the conclusion is drawn. It is also accepted as equally important by the Naiyāyikas that, unless sufficient care be taken in selecting the mark (हेतुः) the validity of the conclusion is sure to be vitiated if the mark in question admits of a condition (उपाधिः) in relation to the major term. For instance, the inference of smoke from fire is bound to be invalid because of the non-existence of smoke in a piece of red-hot iron which is evidently due to the condition (उपाधिः) in relation to fire and smoke as middle and major terms respectively. Here the condition is the contact of wet fuel (आर्द्र-धनसंयोगः) which, as defined by the Naiyāyika, is invariably

concomitant (व्यापकः) with the major term smoke, and not so (अव्यापकः) with the middle term; i. e. the major term smoke is invariably concomitant, not with every kind of fire (middle term), but with such fire as is in contact with wet fuel (= a particular condition). Thus in instances like this the Naiyāyikas themselves admit that a condition (उपाधिः) of the aforesaid nature does really exist and evidently vitiates the validity of Reasons like fire as Instruments (प्रमाणानि) leading to the knowledge of the existence of major terms like smoke. It would therefore follow that, even according to the Naiyāyikas, the validity of Inference depends upon (1) the middle term (हेतुः) being *absolutely free* from any condition (उपाधिः), either accepted (निश्चितः), disputed (विप्रतिपन्नः) or even suspected (संदिग्धः) (2) the existence of the middle term (sign or हेतुः) in the minor, and (3) the middle term being invariably connected (व्याप्तः) with the major. This invariable relation (व्याप्तिः) is helpful in causing Inference, not by virtue of its existence, but by virtue of its being *known*.

What then is the means of knowing this relation? It cannot be perception. For perception can produce the knowledge of only such objects as come in direct contact with the corresponding senses. But the invariable relation in question subsists between the objects not only of the present which can no doubt come in contact with the senses, but also of the past and the future which can by no means come in contact with the senses. So perception cannot be the means of knowing this invariable relation (व्याप्तिः).

Nor can Inference (अनुमानम्) be the means of knowing this invariable relation. For, before we apply Inference as a means, we should require another Inference to establish it; and this Inference will have to be established by a third Inference, and so on, and hence there would arise the fallacy of an *ad infinitum retro-gression* (अनवस्था)

Nor can oral testimony (शब्दः) be the means thereof. For, (1) according to the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda oral testimony is included in Inference, inasmuch as it depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'the language used by an old man in the presence of a child', (2) Further, when we Cārvākas deny the existence of past authorities such as Gotama, etc, there is no use of

depending on them for believing that smoke and fire are invariably connected. (3) In case oral testimony were to be accepted as the only means of knowing this invariable relation, the following would ensue; a man who has not been made by another to understand the subsistence of the invariable relation between smoke and fire, would never be able to infer the existence of one thing (as fire) from the perception of another (as smoke).

Nor can comparison be the means for the knowledge of this invariable relation. For (1) Comparison has been included by Kanāda in the topic of Inference on the ground that it also depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'Similarity' (2) Comparison itself aims at producing the knowledge of quite a different connection, viz, the relation of a name to something so named. Thus it can be said that there is absolutely no means for the knowledge of the invariable relation on which, according to the Naiyāyika, the validity of Inference depends. In regard to the first afore-said requisite of a valid Inference it has already been pointed out that the absolute absence of a condition is the indispensable element in the definition of invariable relation; but such absence of a condition can never be known, because it is impossible to establish that all conditions must be objects of perception (योग्याः). Some of them may be non-perceptible (अयोग्याः). So, although the absence of perceptible (योग्याः) conditions may be itself perceptible, the absence of non-perceptible conditions must be itself non-perceptible (अयोग्यः). So there is always a doubt that non-perceptible conditions may somewhere exist in relation to the middle and the major terms in question. Although the relation of invariable concomitance between the middle term (as smoke) and the major term (as fire) is seen to hold good in the one thousand instances examined by us. Still there remains the doubt that there may be an instance where the relation fails (व्यभिचारः). We also realise in our experience that what holds good in ten cases (sweetness in a mango) may not do so in the eleventh.

Moreover, condition or upādhi, (contact with wet fuel) as already defined, is that which constantly accompanies (व्यापकः) the major term (smoke) and which does not bear such relation to the middle term (as fire). From this definition it is clear that an accurate knowledge of a condition depends upon the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) between what is to be ascertained as the condition and the major term. But the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) essentially required as the basis of Inference is such a connection between the middle term and the major term (as smoke and fire) as is distinguished

by the absence of any such condition. The knowledge of the absence of a condition should necessarily be preceded by the knowledge of that condition. Thus it is only when there is the knowledge of the condition that the knowledge of the Invariableness (व्याप्तिः) of the relation is possible. The knowledge of a condition has just now been understood as depending on the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः). Thus the opponent is exposed to the fallacy of अन्योन्याश्रयः reasoning in a circle.

Of course, as a matter of fact, immediately after observing one thing (as smoke), the person thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith, and proceeds to the spot with the hope of finding it. But it can be accounted for in either of these two ways—(1) After having previously observed the two things (as smoke and fire) together in a few familiar places (Kitchen, brick-kiln, Steam Engine etc.), one may simply conjecture that they might exist together in a fifth place also. Or, on the basis of their co-existence as observed in the first four familiar places, one may peremptorily assume the thing observed (as smoke) as an authoritative mark serving as a middle term. But the conjecture as well as the peremptory assumption of authority may prove to be an illusion in some cases; and in those few cases wherein they prove true, it is only due to a mere *accident*, just like the cure effected by *chance*, through gems, charms etc. Hence, by the impossibility, as shown above, of knowing the invariableness of the relation which is held to be absolutely essential to Inference, it becomes impossible to establish the authority of Inference. When Inference cannot be an authority, it would easily follow that little or no authority can be claimed for oral testimony and Comparison both of which have already been referred to as included in Inference by the Vaiśeṣhika. Thus it is assertively declared by us that none but perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) can be an Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). This is the position held by the Cārvākas in respect of the Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). With a view to refute the Cārvāka's position and to establish the authority of Inference the Naiyāyika adduces the following arguments:—

(1) The Cārvāka declares 'Nothing but perception can be an authority (प्रमाणम्)' ('नाप्रत्यक्षे प्रमाणम्.') Evidently he directs his attack against Inference, verbal testimony, Analogy etc. which are all different from Perception. Well, how has he arrived at this conclusion? He must have arrived at this through some intellectual process. In case he has been led to this conclusion—viz., 'Inference is no authority'—by observing analogy (similarity) as subsisting between Inference and

something else that has been accepted (निश्चित) by all to be no authority, it is quite the same thing as concluding the presence of fire in a smoking mountain on the ground that; in respect of smoke, the mountain is quite analogous to the kitchen which has definitely been known to have fire. Obviously the intellectual process he must have gone through is no other than what we recognise as Inferential reasoning.

(2) Again the Cārvāka has, in the course of his reasoning, distinctly said that it is due to a mere conjecture (संभावना) or illusion (भ्रमा) on the part of the person if, on observing one thing (as smoke) in a certain place, he at once thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith. He has also said in connection with condition that, though the absence of perceptible conditions is clearly ascertained, a doubt (संशयः) still remains to the effect that non-perceptible conditions may exist. Now how has the Cārvāka been able to ascertain these specific forms of thought—viz., conjecture, illusion and doubt? They are not within the range of Perception. He must have ascertained them by some other evidence than perception i. e., he must necessarily admit that, apart from perception, there are also other instruments of right cognition. He has just now been shown to have, of necessity, admitted the authority of *Inference*.

(3) Further, in regard to the Cārvākas' assertion 'nothing but perception can be an authority' the following question is put to him: i. Is this statement of yours an authority (प्रमाणम्) ii or not? In the first alternative there is a clear indication of his accepting the authority of oral Testimony. Also it would be incumbent on the Cārvāka to maintain the authoritativeness of his statement by some valid reason. If so he is clearly admitting the force of a reason (हेतुः) in leading to a right conclusion. A reason capable of leading to a right conclusion is just what is recognised by us as an Inferential mark or middle term (लिङ्गम् or अनुमानम्). If however the second alternative be accepted, his statement 'nothing but perception, can be an authority' would become a non-authority. (अप्रमाणम्); i. e. it would appear as if the Cārvāka means by way of implication that, apart from perception, there are other valid instruments of right cognition (प्रमाणानि) It has already been shown that he must necessarily admit the authority of Inference. If he should still persist in rejecting the authority of Inference, it can be shown that he would land himself in insurmountable difficulties even in regard to perception which he holds to be a unique authority. For, authority (प्रामाण्यम्) is an attribute which can be ascertained only by Inference, but not by perception. So, if the

authority of Inference be not accepted by the Cārvāka, even perception would become quite untenable as an authority. If however the Cārvāka should try to defend himself by holding that authority or validity (प्रामाण्यम्) is selfevident (स्वतोऽग्राह्यम्), then it would be impossible to account for a doubt (संशयः) which naturally arises in the form whether a particular cognition ('it will rain to-morrow') is right or not. So validity has to be accepted as being ascertainable only by Inference. (For instance, a cognition of the form 'there is water in yonder place' is valid because it leads to fruitful activity, i. e., whoever goes to that spot surely finds water.)

Thus has the Naiyāyika been able to marshal his arguments in such a way as to convince even a formidable opponent like the Cārvāka of the necessity to accept the authority of Inference. Analogy and oral testimony have already been proved to be acceptable as authorities or instruments of right cognition. One might however bring forward the following objection:—the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition do not at all represent the whole field of knowledge. This is just the reason why the Mīmāṃsakas and other schools of thought felt the necessity for some more evidences, and accordingly recognised, in addition to these, some instruments of right cognition, (1) Presumption (अर्थापत्तिः) (2) Non-perception (अनुपलब्धिः) (3) Inclusion (संभवः) (4) Tradition (एतद्ब्रुम्) and (5) gesture (चेष्टा). Hence the Nyāya theory is defective.

This objection has no force as against us, the Naiyāyika replies. For the objector is evidently mistaken in thinking that presumption and other evidences are essentially of quite a different nature from the aforesaid four recognised by the Naiyāyika. It is possible to prove that presumption and other evidences clearly admit of being included in one or the other of the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition. For instance, presumption is applied in cases like this; when it is known that a person like Devadatta has become fat without eating during the day-time, the conclusion is drawn that he must have been eating at nights. This process can easily be put in the form of a syllogism thus (major premise) whoever becomes fat without eating in the day-time must be eating in the night. (minor premise) Devadatta is a person who becomes fat without eating in the day. (Conclusion) Therefore Devadatta must have been eating at nights. Hence what is known as presumption is no other than Inference. Similarly it would be quite possible to include Inclusion (संभवः) in Inference, Non-perception in the perception of non-existence, Tradition and gesture in verbal Testimony. Thus the Nyāya theory of knowledge has been proved to be fully comprehensive.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PURANAS¹

By S. BHIMASANKARARAO, B. A.

For a long time past, it has been the prevailing impression and also the accepted opinion of many orientalists that the puranas contain little or nothing of any real historical value and were merely fairy tales proceeding from the fertile imagination of grateful bards to glorify their royal patrons. These puranas have been altogether abandoned as useless for all historical purposes though some attempts have been made now and then to construct some satisfactory system of Indian historical chronology but they have not succeeded, owing to the lack of knowledge in studying and interpreting them properly. The events narrated in these puranas have been much discounted and were altogether ignored unless they were supported and corroborated by other sources. They are regarded as purely legendary containing as they do, descriptions of Superhuman beings and of the other worlds and are discarded altogether. It was only during the last quarter of a century that there has been a reaction and a growing belief that these works deserved more serious attention at the hands of the orientalists and that they were unduly neglected. The present attitude of the modern scholarship towards these documents has been changed and it was reserved for a Bengal Civilian High Court Judge the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter to rescue them from oblivion and to appraise their real historical value in 1913 by his publication of "Historical Tradition" which gives us the researches carried on by him into this neglected field of Puranas for many years. He has demonstrated that underneath the mass of legend there lies a fairly coherent skeleton of historical tradition mainly representing the standpoint of Kshatriyas and not seldom contradicting the orthodox Brahmanic texts and this he has, with great skill endeavoured to reconstruct. It had been shown that these puranas contained valuable historical information and the description of ancient monarchs and the realms given in them are trustworthy and his publication of the Dynasties of the Kali age in accordance with the historical facts narrated in the puranas, has opened the eyes of all orientalists and a critical study of the puranas on modern scientific lines has been inaugurated. It is still in its infancy and when this important branch of ancient literature is examined by modern scientific methods such as have been applied to the Vedic age and its literature much valuable historical material is no doubt expected. Even Mr. L. D. Barnett a most

1. Read before the Society's general meeting held on 17-1-27.

uncompromising and unsympathetic historical critic and orientalist has said "though many of them are not prepared to accept the conclusions of Mr. Pargiter yet we must recognise the profound far-reaching effect of his historical criticism in general." He stated "though no doubt the ancient legend-mongers are utterly unreliable, ready to concoct an utterly false pedigree and when they were honest they were lamentably wrong in putting contemporary dynasties one after another and filling the gaps with wild speculation, yet after making due deduction for an abundant margin of error, the skeleton of an old tradition remains and it is no longer permissible for historians to ignore it and they must collect and analyse legends, trace them to their sources, test their credulity and classify them organically into groups." This seems to be the best testimony for the historical value of puranas. Very recently we had a further confirmation of the historical value of the puranas. It appears that the ancient Indians had extensive commercial dealings with Africa and in the course of their commercial ventures they had to find out the very sources of the river Nile in Egypt and a lot of geographical information was embedded in the Puranas which nobody could discover till now. The discovery of the sources of Nile engaged the attention of many British explorers who could not succeed. It was only very recently Lt. Col. Speke was able to discover the sources of the Nile from a map which was constructed on the information given in the Puranas by Col. Wilford in his Asiatic researches. In his book "on the discovery of the sources of the Nile" Lt. Speke, the modern discoverer of the origin of the river Nile, stated that the information which the puranas contained about the sources of the river Nile was so accurate that when planning his discovery of the sources of Nile, he secured best information from a map reconstructed out of the Puranas based on a map drawn by Col. Wilford from the information contained in the Puranas. This map traced the course of the great river Nila-Krishna, through Kusadipa, the ancient Indian name for Africa, from a great lake in Chandrasthan. It has therefore been abundantly proved that the statements contained in the puranas with regard to the various places of the world, with which the ancient Indians had commercial dealings are geographically correct. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, the eminent South Indian historian referred to the fact in his article on South Africa published in the Hindu.

That the puranas, as a class of literature, had a hoary tradition behind them, does not admit of any doubt at the present day. We first hear of Itihasa purana as a class of literature with this general title in the 15th mandala of the Atharvana Veda and in the seventh chapter of Chandogyopamshad. We need not enter into a detailed examination of the growth and development of these puranas but from the manner in which they were introduced to the notice of the people, it is abundantly

clear that they are of Kshatriya origin. The orthodox tradition is that Vyasa was the reputed author but it has been asserted that the name was only a Euphemism for a compiler. These puranas were said to have been narrated by Sûtas at the sacrifices performed by Rshis and Kings. It was Lomaharshana and his son Ugrasravas that were the reciters of the puranas during the performance of the great sacrifices by Kings and Rshis. These Sûtas would appear to be the accredited custodians of the traditional lore comprising the heroic deeds and exploits of Aryan *Rajanyah* who fought with Non-Aryans and established the Aryan supremacy in Bharatvarsha and it was usual for these Sûtas to recite songs of their praise before the assembled audience during the great Aswamedha sacrifice performed to commemorate a big Digvijayam, which is nothing more than a defeat of the Non-Aryan forces. These Sûtas seem to be a secular institution in ancient India at the time of the Brahmana period and they were entrusted with important functions in the royal households. He seems to be a triune officer being the royal herald, minstrel and probably also master of the horse and had a seat in the king's cabinet of ministers being one of the kings *Ratnani* and corresponds approximately to the present day Lord Chamberlain. In the ancient law books he is described as the son of a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brahmin and his chief function seems to be the chronicler of the Kshatriya kings in the heroic age when they occupied a position of considerable influence and power when the Aryan Brahmin-priest-hood was still in inferior position, and social status being dependent on Aryan Kshatriya nobility as we gather from the earliest Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhist literature. During the Brahmana and the Epic periods, National life centred round the court of the king whose royal power was very influential and was at such a period the Epics and puranas came into existence and were essentially of Kshatriya origin and complexion. Consequently it is said that the Epics and the puranas emanated from the throne rather than from the altar. But when the priestly power eventually asserted its supremacy, all the Kshatriya literature has become Brahmanised and both the Epics and puranas underwent transformation at the hands of the Brahmin hierarchy. When this literature passed from the hands of the royal bards to the Brahmin Rshis, their whole form has been changed and the record of the lineage of princes disappeared and in its place, endless legends about holy places and thirthas and hymns in praise of Divinities were substituted and were made the subject of sectarian propaganda. While Vedas and Brahmanas were well protected from textual corruption by the elaborate devices designed by the priestly class, the Epics and puranas have adopted themselves to the changes which have taken place in the social and religious life of the people. Just as Mahabharata, which was originally the story of a great war

between Kuru Panchalas was turned into Dharma Sastra inculcating morals, so these Puranas also were changed for purposes of imparting religious and moral instruction to the public and for the purpose of spreading the Siva and Vishnu cults; the two great Divinities who share the allegiance of Aryavarta. That these puranas are altogether concoctions of the middle ages by the selfish Brahmin priesthood for the perpetuation of their power and influence, cannot at all be maintained and as has been rightly observed, it is too great a strain on one's credulity. These puranas even in their changed form represent an independent tradition coming down from the Vedic period and was handed down from one generation of bards to another and was solemnly promulgated on occasions of the great sacrifices. The preservation of the dynastic lists and the lineage of kings was due to their being associated with the sacrifices at which they were recited and there can be no question of their historical character.

It was in the reign of Parikshit who was celebrated as the great king of Kurus in the Atharvana Veda, that Parâsara the grandson of Vashista, the rishi to whom the 7th mandala of Rigveda is ascribed, first recited the Vishnu purana, the Purana par excellence. Then we have the recitation of the puranas by Ugrasrava suta son of Lomaharshana to the Rishis who were performing the 12 year sacrifice in the Naimisha forest on the banks of the sacred river Drishadvati. That there was a common tradition underlying all the puranas is certain and it is also certain that 18 versions of a common tradition have developed at different centres of religious activity where local events were inserted subsequently. Thus the Brahma purana represents the Orissa version, Padma purana that of Pushkara, the Agni purana that of Gaya, the Varaha purana that of Mathura, the Vamana purana of Thaneshwar, the Kurma purana of Benares, the Matsya of the Narbada Brahmins. It is not possible to state, at what period these 18 puranas have assumed their distinctive appellations but this must have been, after they ceased to be regarded as repositories of historical information for they are grouped in the traditional lists according to their religious character. Mr. Pargiter was of opinion that Bhavishya purana was the source of Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda and gives quotations from them in support thereof. There are clear indications that some of these puranas, Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda were originally composed in Prakrit but were subsequently Sanskritised. The Vishnu, Bhagavata and Garuda were composed directly in Sanskrit.

According to the classical definition, a purana must treat of five topics, viz., Sarga, Prathi sarga, Vamsa, Manvanthara and Vamsanucharitha (Creation, Secondary creation, genealogies of Gods and rishis and groups of ages and history of royal families.)

Most of existing puranas do not conform to this ideal scheme and they differ in varying degrees. The Brahma purana stands first and it is called Adi purana and Vishnu purana stands 3rd in the list. Some are of opinion that Vayu was the oldest. We are not concerned with the first four topics treated in the puranas, but we are concerned only with the 5th section which treats of royal genealogies. That is the historical portion of the puranas. This last section gives us an account of the kings on earth and the earliest portion of these genealogies, like most of the chronicles of other nations are of a legendary character. They trace their descent from sun, and moon, and we have the two well-known lines of kings of Surya vamsa, Chandra vamsa. Such kind of pedigrees are pieced together from fragments of religious lore in accordance with old world traditions. We find from Sathapatha Brahmanā a legendary story about Ila, the daughter of Manu from whom the lunar family derived its name. In the same way we had another tradition about the solar family tracing its descent from Manu, through Ikshwaku, who was born from the sneeze (Kshwā) of Manu as stated in Vishnu purana. Such kinds of traditions are common to all nations of the earth but they are all beyond the province of sober history. But when the Tribal names are found in the genealogical lists we can regard them as authentic and conclude that those names really represent a people whose kings are named after them. In the Vedic literature the Ikshwakus were a family of princes belonging to the Solar dynasties of Kosala and other kingdoms to the east of Madhyadesa. There seems to be some conflict between the statements made in the Vedic literature and those made in the Puranas and as stated by the writer of the Cambridge History the chain of evidence is wanting to remove the apparent contradictions. There are certain well-known landmarks both in the Mahabharata and the Puranas which undoubtedly fix the events with definite chronology and we may accept them as truly historical, for instance Parikshat was appointed as king of Hastinapura 36 years after the great war and Adhi Seema Krishna the great-great grandson of Parikshat is represented in the puranas as a contemporary of Divakara of Kosala and Prasenajit of Magadha. From this we can clearly deduce a fairly correct chronology of the period. The puranas give us detailed dynastic lists with regard to the three royal families of Puru, Ikshwakus and the kings of Magadha. This history is confined to three regions, Puru kings of Hastinapura and Kurukshetra; Ikshwakus of Kosala-Videha and Brihadradhas of Magadha, i. e. the Puranic history is confined to the regions now represented by the United provinces, Oudh, and South Behar.

The Puru dynasty begins with Bharata Dushyanti, the great conqueror of Kurukshetra whose victories on the Ganges and Jumna were commemorated in Satapatha Brahmana and from whose name this

country was styled Bharatavarsha. His successor Satrajit Satanika extended his conquests as far as Kasi. The puranic lists contain the names of 29 Puru kings who reigned at Hastinapura which is usually identified with a ruined site at Meerut in the old bed of Ganges. When this capital Hastinapura was destroyed by a great inundation of the Ganges in the reign of Nkhakshus the successor of Adhiseema Krishna, the capital was removed to Kausambi the present Kosam in Allahabad (Madhya Desa) which played an important part in subsequent history. Another capital is the well-known Indraprastha where the modern Delhi stands. The Kuru kings therefore ruled a large portion of territory comprising the United Provinces and Agra from Meerut in the north to Benares in the south. The last of the dynasty was Kshemaka according to the Puranas who reigned after Udayana, the contemporary of Buddha. Coming now to Kosala, the Ikshwakus who were originally a branch of the Purus ruled over the Modern provinces of Oudh and their capital was Saketa. Ayodhya was a famous city of Kosala being the capital of Dasaratha and Rama who were both historical characters relegated by the puranas to a dim and distant age but there is a school of oriental thought, prominent among whom is the well-known South India historian Dr. Krishna swami Iyengar who hold that the events of Ramayana took place after the great Mahabharata war. In the puranic lists Hiranya Nabha and Para Atnara, probably father and son, were mentioned as kings who performed Aswamedha sacrifice. During Buddha's time Kosala was a predominant kingdom of northern India but it was gradually eclipsed by the growing power of Magadha. The last of the Ikshwaku kings was Sumitra, a contemporary of Buddha and both the Puru and Ikshwaku dynasties disappear and the historical interest of puranas was then centred round Magadha which became the suzerien power in Madhya desa (*i. e.*) in northern India.

The Magadhas were unknown to Rgvedic literature and perhaps they inhabited the present Patna and Gaya districts of south Bihar. The Magadhas along with their neighbours the Angas who lived in the present Monghyr and Bhagipur districts of Bengal were mentioned in the Atharvana veda as a people living on the extreme confines of Aryan civilization. Their kings trace their descent through their great conqueror Vasuchadya mentioned in the Rigveda and his son was Brihadratha the founder of the dynasty known by that name. The Magdaha empire is famous both in ancient and medieval India. Twice in its history it established great empires, the Mauryan empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries B. C. and the Imperial Gupta empire in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. The puranas give us eight dynastic lists with a statement of the number of years and the duration of their reigns. The dynasties 8 in number are Brihadratha, Prodyota, Salsunaga, Nanda, Maurya, Sunga, Kanva and Andhra dynasties. It is not possible with n

the short compass of this paper to give even a brief account of the above dynasties as they cover a long period of more than 10 centuries. The Historical portion of the Purāṇas stops with the rise of Imperial Gupta power and the Purāṇas state that the Gupta Monarchs were reigning at Pataliputra at that time. The Purāṇic account thus closes with 319 A.D. and there it stopped. We find therefore that it was during the period of Gupta monarchy when the Brahmin hierarchy regained their lost supremacy, they undertook the redaction of the purāṇas and especially the Vishnu and Vayu Purāṇas were edited then and it is these editions that are now current in present use. Some doubts have been raised with regard to the dynastic lists mentioned in the Purāṇas. Some dynasties were put forward as successive while others were contemporary and vice versa. The 63 manuscripts which were examined by Mr. Pargiter are rarely in agreement with regard to the number of years of each dynasty and the duration of their rule and consequently there has been much confusion in fixing their chronology accurately.

The general conclusions of Mr. Pargiter with regard to the Purāṇas are as follows:

1. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmāṇḍa present a remarkable similarity and they themselves declare that they were taken from Bhaviṣya.
2. The Vishnu and Bhāgavata are very much in common and their various versions are in much more condensed forms. Some portions of Vishnu are in the ornate classical prose style.
3. All the accounts profess to be prophetic. Vishnu Purāṇa professes to have been narrated by Pārasara and sets about the Pururava genealogy from the standpoint of Abhumanyu's son Parikṣat and deals with Ikshvaku and Brahadratha dynasties from the time of the great war Mahābhārata.
4. It was in the reign of Adiseema Kṛishna that the great 12 year sacrifice was performed by Rishis in Naimisha forest and it was then that Suta recited these Purāṇas.
5. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmāṇḍa, were originally in Prakrit, subsequently Sanskritised and Mr. Pargiter gives 6 reasons for the said conclusions. It is hoped that further research and study of the Purāṇas would enable the Orientalists to give a more satisfactory chronology.
6. The subject matter and textual peculiarities enable us to fix the times. The dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of Andhras about 236 A. D. Matsya brings the narrative to the middle of the 3rd century.

Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Vishnu and Bhāgavata carry the narrative up to the rise of the Guptas who were mentioned as reigning at Prayag, Saketa and Ayodhya and Magadha. The fact that Samudragupta's

conquests were not noticed is proof positive that the puranic account closed by 335 A. D.

There are many difficult questions arising from the historical account of the puranas. The Prodyota dynasty which was identified with Punika family mentioned by Bana in the Harshacharitra were kings of Avanti in western Malwa and the puranas state that Punika the founder, slew his master Ripunjaya, the last of the Br. hdrathas and anointed his son in his stead. Then the Satsunagas stepped in and took possession of Girivraja the capital of Magadha empire. Different statements were made as to whether the Pradyotas of Avanti held sway over Magadha. It was an accepted tradition that Puranas made mention only of those kings who reigned at Magadha and none others found a place there. It has been stated that both the Pradyotas and the Andhras never ruled at Magadha and how is it that their kings were mentioned in the Puranas. The intrusion of the Pradyotas and the Andhras, in the puranic list of kings was explained as the result of the suzerainty which they successfully wrested from their enemies, though they have not actually reigned at Magadha. Kharavela, the king of Kalinga and his dynasty had found no place in the Pauranic lists because he could not secure the imperial suzerainty of Magadha though he made some unsuccessful attempts.

The puranas which give the best historical information are Vāyu, Vishnu and Matsya, while Vāyu is considered to be the oldest. There can be no question that these puranas have been very greatly tampered with and added especially during the reign of Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king about 182 B. C. when there was a reaction against Buddhism. But so far as the historical portions are concerned, no doubt can be thrown upon them. With a view to combat the principles of Buddhism which were prevalent then, a good deal of sectarian things were incorporated in them such as the Avatars of Vishnu, the cosmogony of Gods and the rules for their worship. These puranas may be divided into two broad divisions as Siva puranas and Vishnu puranas but the historian need not trouble himself with these religious classifications. The Kūrma purana while dealing with the Avatars of Vishnu gives an extensive account of the ancient world then known and gives us much geographical information. The Padma purana contains a good number of stories which formed the foundation for all subsequent Sanskrit kavya literature. The history of the Andhra kings and of their dynasties was given in Matsya, Vayu, Vishnu and Brahmanda Puranas and the Andhrā kings generally go by the name of Sata-karnis which seems to be their family title. There have been many discrepant statements with regard to the number of Andhra kings that in the various Puranas and it has been held on close examination of all the manuscripts that there were 30 Andhra

kings who ruled over the Andhra empire for a period of 460 years according to Matsya and of 411 years according to Vayu and of 456 years according to Brahmānda, Vishnu and Bhāgavata, for a period of 4 centuries from 2nd century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.

The break up of the Mauryan and Kushan empires during the 2nd century has given an opportunity for the Andhra and Kalinga empires to shake off their dependent position and assert their supremacy. The Andhra empire made rapid strides and during the reign of the Goutami Putra Yajna Sri about 167 B. C., they wrested the imperial suzerainty of the Magadha empire. This is not the place to give a detailed history of the great Andhra empire which flourished for 4 centuries continually and no other empire had lasted for such a long time. The Andhra empire came to an end about the year 225 A. D. and upon its ruins the Imperial Gupta Empire rose. The Puranas state that the Andhras were succeeded by Yavanas and Sakas.

Much of the history of the Andhra Empire and its kings is obscure and enshrouded in darkness and it is the imperative duty of our society to rescue it from oblivion and construct a real and authentic history of the Andhra empire and its dominions. Our association can only justify its existence if it gives to the public a real history of the Andhra people during the several periods. Serious doubts have been thrown about the origin of Andhras. It has been said that Andhras were Non-Aryans and formed a portion of the Dravidian population. It is only by making a systematic and scientific study upon modern historical lines into the neglected field of Puranas that we can only be able to construct a good history of the Andhra people. The historical importance of the puranas, especially with regard to the Andhra history has been abundantly testified by Dr. Vincent Smith himself who stated that the statements of Puranas with regard to Andhra history are correct and accurate. The value of inscriptional evidence is very much discounted at present because they were the compositions of grateful beneficiaries and court poets, whose object was to glorify their royal patrons and not hand down a correct record of the events to posterity and as such the statements contained in them are much exaggerated and prejudiced. Consequently inscriptional evidence is not valued highly under the Canons of modern historical criticism. I do not mean to say that they must be eschewed altogether not but only I desire, to give to it undue weight. There is no use of dabbling in inscriptions recorded under circumstances, of which we have no definite knowledge. Barring inscriptional evidence, we have to fall back upon Puranas and other contemporary literature and explore all the avenues which would give us accurate historical information. The standards of historical criticism have of late been made very stringent and it is difficult no doubt to satisfy its canons. But a straight endeavour must be made to

construct an accurate Andhra history. Particular periods may be taken up and dealt with in a thorough manner. I therefore put forward an earnest plea for the study of the Puranas from a historical point of view. I hope and trust that adequate measures would be taken up by our Andhra Historical Research Society to bring into existence a true and authentic history of the Andhra Empire and its Peoples.

"THE PATHLESS COUNTRIES OF THE LĀDHAS"

By B. SINGH DEO, B. A.

Modern scholars very often use 'Lādha' as the corrupt form of Rādha. Such misuse has led the research scholars to create a mountain of a mole hill. A little consideration of the matter may easily clear our mis-apprehension. The dispute on the word Lādha has reached its zenith in commenting upon the adventures of the mother of Simhabahu, the prince of north Kalinga. On her way to Magadha, she had to cross the territory of Lādha. Here we find the first mention of this country. Again it is written in the Jain Aryanga Sutta that the Mahāvira "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lādhās in Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi"¹ The use of the above sentence very clearly shows that Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi were the respective names of the two countries which were inhabited by the people called 'Lādhās.' I have shown in my note on Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi² that the Lādhās are a hill tribe and they are still predominant in Dhakbhum, Singbhum, Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and Bumra. Formerly, both Vanjabhumi and the present district of Singbhum were part and parcel of ancient Utkala. And that portion of it which was specially inhabited by the Lādhās was designated as Lādha. Therefore, we may safely assert that Lādha comprised both Vanjabhumi and Simhabhumi together. As the country of the Kalingas was called Kalinga, that of the Dosarnas as Dosarna, so also the land of the Lādhās was known as Lādha. If you look at the map of Seraikella state in Singbhum, you can easily see the Lādha-hill, which is still presided by the tribal Deity of the Lādha called Lādha-pat. The aboriginal tribes still worship the above hill-god with much pomp and grandeur. At the foot of the said hill is a village called Lādha which was formerly occupied by the Lādhās who are almost extinct now in that state. But their number is note-worthy in Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and the Kolhan Government estate of Singbhum which from the border line of Seraikella on the east and the south respectively. "Bengali historians generally identify Lādha with Rādha or west Bengal. Others locate it in Guzrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon one from Kalinga and another from Guzrat side. But the Rādha of west Bengal first finds mention in the Bhaviya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D.³ While Dr. Aiyangar holds

1. J. A. S. B. (New Series), Vol. IV, pp. 285-86.

2. J. B. O. R. S., March 1927.

3. J. A. H. E. S., July 1927,

that "the Lādha, under reference, is eastern Prakrit form of Rādha, a division of Vajjabhumi on the banks of the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in Modern language West Bengal." Like Mr. M. M. Chakravarty, Dr. Aiyangar too takes no account of the Lādhās as a hill tribe whose existence is still visible in the above mentioned countries. Mr. Chakravarty's mis-interpretation of Jaina account is solely responsible for the mis-guidance of the later scholars in identifying Lādha with Rādha.

If Mr. Chakravarty's interpretation is accepted, then we cannot but come to the conclusion that Rādha was in existence at the time when the Mahāvira lived and propagated Jainism. But nobody finds any mention of Rādha at that time. On the other hand, the learned author gives no account of Vajjabhumi. Only he says that it has been 'graphically described.' Again, from the said account it is known that after visiting Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi, Mahāvira came to the country of the Utkalas. The very descriptions of the Jaina preachers say that it was a rude and unreclaimed forest land. In my opinion, the wild tribes of this forest tract were addressed by the Aryans as Lādhās. Because, it comes from the original Sanskrit word "Lubdhaka" i. e., a hunter. Briefly, they were a wild tribe who lived on hunting wild animals, birds and other forest products. A similar mis-interpretation of an account has been detected by Prof. Radha Govinda Basak in the Rampal Charit edited by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri. And it is a matter of great regret to say that even a scholar like R. D. Banerjee accepted the said mis-interpretation in the said book without any the least hesitation. The thing is, our scholars often fail to undergo difficulties in visiting the practical fields of research and make a thorough study of the disputed subjects as generally the European Scholars do. They are very fond of sitting in libraries and writing out articles after comparing this and that view. When we find in the Jaina literature an account of the Lādhās as a rude people amongst whom the Jaina preachers preached their religion and which account cannot but be considered as much earlier than that of the Bhavishya Purana, it is rather ludicrous on our part to try to establish a firm connection between Lādha and Rādha. "Even during the early period of the 11th Century A. D., the name Lādha occurs for the tract in the Tirumali Inscriptions of Southern India though the name Rādha was then fully current in Bengal." From the above hypotheses, we may draw the conclusion that Lādha was a separate country and it existed from very ancient time without having any concern with Rādha or west Bengal. That Lādha is West Bengal or Rādha is therefore out of the question. In another article, I shall make an attempt to write something on the Lādhās.

ASVI PLATES OF THE EARLY YADAVA IRAMMADEVA

A feudatory of the Deccan Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. of Śaka 1020

By D. P. DISKALKAR, M. A., Rajkot.

These plates were discovered in the village Āsvi in the Sangamner Taluk of the Ahmednagar District in the Bombay Presidency. Subsequently they were acquired by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁsodhaka Mandala, Poona and Published in Marathi in the third volume of the Quarterly Journal.

These are three plates held together by a copper ring and containing a sanskrit inscription in Nāgari characters of 85 lines of writing. The record opens with an invocation of the God Śankara. Then the geneology of the early Yādava family to which the donor of the grant belonged is given thus. There was a king named Dr̥ḍhaprahāra, who hailed from Dvārāvati Pattana and founded a town named Chandrādityapura. His son was Seunachandra who founded a town named Seunapura in Sindinēra. His son was Dhādiyappa. After him the following kings—Bhīllama, Śrīrāja, Vaddiga, and Bhīllama II ruled successively. Bhīllama II's wife was Lacchiyavvā and son was Vesuka, whose son was Bhīllama III, also called Mallika. In his family was born Seunachandra, who defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after the death of Bhīllama. Seunachandra's son was Irammadeva, who conquered the kingdom of seven divisions, which king Bhuvanakamalla could not conquer and handed it over to king Paramardin. Irammadeva's wife was Yogallā.

The inscription then states that on monday, the 15th of the dark half of Vaisākha in the Śaka year 1020 Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Irammadeva ruling over Seunadeśa during the victorious rule of the Chālukya sovereign Tribhuvanamalla Paramardideva, issued a grant from Narmadāpura on the bank of the Narmadā.

The donees were thirty-one Brahmanas, the chief of whom was named Kūkalapaṇḍita, of Kāsyapa gotra who had migrated from Karahāra. The property granted to him consisted of the village Konkanagrāma (modern Konkarnagion) situated in the Sangamner sub-division of 84 under Śrīnagara division of one thousand in the Seunadeśa. The grant was written by Palakaraṇi Harischandra.

Three grants of this early Yādava family of Seunadeśa were so far known: the Sangamner grant of Śaka 922 of Bhīllama II, (*Ep. Ind. Vol. II p. 212*), the Kalas-budruk grant of Ś. 948 of Bhīllama III

(*Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII p. 117*) and the Bassin grant of Ś. 991 of Seunachandra (*Ibid. Vol. XII p. 119*). The present grant of Ś. 1020 of Irammadeva is the fourth and the last. Except of course the formal matter it is almost identical with the Bassin grant of Seunachandra, the father of the donor of the present grant.

Irammadeva, the donor of the present grant is no doubt to be identified with Parammadeva (probably a mis-reading for Irammadeva) the son and successor of Seunachandra as recorded in Hemādris *Vratākhaṇḍa* (*Bombay Gaz Vol. I-II. p. 235*). The Yādavas of Seunadeśa, as their grants suggest, were loyal feudatories of the Deccan Chalukya sovereigns, though in the long list of their feudatories, the name of the family is not found. (*Ibid. p. 451*). A record of A. D. 1088-89 speaks of the Chālukya sovereign Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering the kings on the other side of the river and another of A. D. 1098 shows that again he was in the northern part of his empire on the banks of the Narmadā (*Ibid. p. 452*). The present inscription confirms in clear words this account and shows that the northern extremity of the empire of this greatest Chālukya sovereign was the river Narmadā defended by the feudatory Yādavas of Seunadeśa.

The plates will in due course of time be edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

It has been laid down by a specialist in the study of the Hindu customs and religion that even the most unimportant and simple of the numerous rites and observances of the Hindus are based on some religious principle or other and that nothing is left to chance. Everything is laid down by rules based on the foundation of religion pure and simple. Temples are considered to be "hallowed grounds and great teachers or piety" to all classes of persons. Hence the sages of old have laid down that a temple is a *sinequanon* in all villages and towns and men and women should never live in a place not made holy by the radiating influence of a central shrine. A study of what is given below in general terms regarding Hindu temples and what they are intended to signify would show one why so much importance was attached to Hindu shrines by the Indian ages of old. A custom or rite, a religious treatise or a sacred edifice have each a lesson to teach and a purpose to serve people in various stages of advancement. In sacred treatises like the Indian Epic *Rāmāyana* it is laid down in the very first chapter the benefits that would accrue to individuals of different grades in advancement and temperament by a careful study of the same. The same is said to be the case with the wonderful work "*Bhagavat gita*" or the Lord's Song. They say that the work can inspire and instruct an advanced *Yōgi* as well as a layman, of course on their respective levels even as a plot of ground does to different individuals of different professions. A Geologist will naturally be attracted to it and view it from his scientific standpoint while a ryot at the same time would deduce in his own mind that the soil would be fit for the cultivation of this or that kind of grain. An artist viewing the splendours of the sunset would envy nature since he could not with all his skill transfer the same in toto to his canvas while one devoid of aesthetic tastes and artistic temperament would see nothing of the beauties referred to above, nor would he feel even a tithe of the enthusiasm and rapture of the other though he was standing by his side under conditions exactly similar.

The same may be said of Indian Temples also. To a philosopher it is pregnant with meaning and symbolical representation of the highest truth, while to an ordinary man or woman it is nothing more than a holy place inhabited by the deity of his or her religion resorting to which one could escape from evil or obtain benefits mundane or heavenly. Treatment of the subject on hand from any point other than

ordinary man's stand point might fail to achieve the end in view. So philosophical and other higher level deductions of truth and explanations have been carefully excluded from here.

Within easy reach of all and provided with a tank, a temple was the resort of the villagers during the cool evening hours not only to perform their evening ablutions in the temple tank but also to pass in calm meditation and contemplation an hour or two at their disposal after perhaps a hard day's labour. Further, the water in the temple tank was considered not only holy by the magnetised water poured on the deity being allowed to gather in it, but also capable of curing ailments corporeal of the devotees caring to take baths in it on account of the rain water falling over and passing by gardens full of plants of medical properties accumulating in it. Goat's milk is considered to possess special medical virtues by reason of the animal eating any and every kind of plant. Further, the food the cattle lives on is considered to be of immense use and effect in the quality and property of the milk supply obtained from those animals. Hindu physicians are of opinion that the milk from a cow or a goat obtained today may be quite different in effect tomorrow on account of the difference in the fodder they were fed upon.

The same principle may be applied to the supply of water to a tank, river or a lake. Hence water saturated with the principles of the sacred plants cultivated in the temple gardens as well as the air impregnated with the odour from such plants should have specific effects on men and women systematically using them day after day.

The *Sthānika* or the temple priest holding hereditary office and enjoying not only the produce and income from the temple land set apart for the purpose but also the portions of the offerings to the deity by the villagers has to keep the temple open and perform pooja or worship for the deity and offer offerings of cooked rice, cocoanuts, plantain fruits, flowers, pan-supari and so on in the morning, at noon and in the evening after sunset. When any of the villagers approached the deity to make obeisance and solicit blessings, the priest should offer him spoonfuls of holy water, flowers taken from the deity and pinches of holy ashes or red-saffron. If available food, cakes, fruits, sandal-paste and other offerings offered to the deity are also freely distributed to the devotees resorting to the temple.

Pious people in ancient times had set apart land or wealth so that the income derived therefrom may be utilized for the above purpose. And it is used to be a common sight that crowds of pilgrims and the hungry were gathered in temples awaiting the hour of distribution of the offerings placed before the deity. This is akin perhaps to the Christian custom of saying grace before food is served on the table for those assembled.

India is a land of people holding sectarian customs and beliefs and as regards the temple they resort to and worship, they may be classed under devotees of Siva, devotees of Vishnu and devotees paying impartial reverence, obeisance and worship both to Siva and Vishnu alike. To suit the taste and temperament of these devotees, different temples had to spring into existence in different places in the land. But there are temples too in the land that are supposed to be divine in origin and *not* man-made, though he might have taken active part in their initial erections and subsequent additions and improvements.

According to the main classification of devotees into saivites or followers of Siva and Vaishnavites or the followers of Vishnu and the temples they resort to, the temples themselves may be sharply divided into Siva temples and Vishnu temples. It goes without saying that the Saivites frequent Siva temples and the Vaishnavites the Vishnu temples, while the class of devotees of even temperament — that is, neither strong saivites rejecting Vaishnavas and their temples and going by the name of Veerasaivas nor strong Vaishnavites despising the Saivites and their shrines and going by the name of Veera Vaishnavas attend both the temples and offer offerings and pay homage and obeisance to the deities therein impartially.

Though the main temples in the land are dedicated either to Siva or to Vishnu we have yet innumerable other temples dedicated to this or that deity—to wit, the elephant headed deity called Vinâyaka and Pillayâr and Hanumân kovil or temple dedicated to that messenger follower and disciple or Śrî Râma the hero of the Indian epic *Râmâyana* to quote one from the side of Saivites and another from that of Vaishnavites out of a very large number. There are also temples to village and miscellaneous deities generally worshipped by the lower caste people of the land. The worship in such temples are generally performed by non-brahmans and certain peculiar ceremonies undertaken by pilgrims to such temples are fire-walking, *kâvadi*-bearing, piercing sharp metallic wires into the body, walking on sandals with sharp pins, *karagam*-carrying on the head etc. But the temples to these minor deities are very simple though in the case of other saivite and vaishnavite temples, according to the "*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*" pages 2 and 3, they "consist of a cell called the *Garbhagriha*,—the central shrine, surmounted by a spire or dome, with a hall in front, called *Mukha-Mandapa* and a narrow passage or vestibule connecting the two, called the *Ardha-mandapa* which is open on two sides to permit of the priestly worshippers circumambulating the central shrine. In the *Mukha-mandapa* or just outside it will be placed the image of the deity's chief vehicle, the Nandi-bull in Siva temples and the Garuda bird in Vishnu temples. This is generally the limit up to which the non-Brahman classes are allowed to come. Round and outside of these are the *Mahâ-mandapa*, the big hall, and other pavilions

in which on special occasions processional images of the deity are placed and worshipped. Next after the *mahâ-manḍapa* there will be two raised platforms, one behind the other, on one of which is planted the flagstaff or *dhwaja-stambha*, made of stone, wood or metal, and on the other is offered what is called the *Sribali*, where sacrificial cooked food and flowers are offered to the minor divinities or powers who have to be appeased in order to ward off all evil and to prevent disturbances to the ordinary conduct of daily worship. It is only up to this limit that foreigners are allowed to enter the temples by the orthodox Hindu.

In temples of any importance there will be a separate shrine for the goddess, but generally on a smaller scale than that of the chief deity. There are separate places for the kitchen where the offerings are prepared with scrupulous regard to ceremonial purity; there are store-houses where the articles required for a year's consumption in the temple are stored; and there is generally a fresh water well which is often the best source of drinking water in the village. The whole group of buildings is surrounded by high *prākāra* walls, whose gate-ways are surmounted by the characteristic towers which lend distinction to a temple city. In some cases there will be outside the temple a big pleasure tank, generally square in size, built round with stone steps on all sides, and with a central *mandapa*, where once a year the god and goddess are taken in procession for the floating festival."

In both the siva temples and the vaishnava temples, there are shrines set apart dedicated to the respective goddesses—the consorts of Siva and Vishnu. But as Vinâyaka and Hanumân are eternal celibates it goes without saying that their temples are of bachelor ones and hence there are no shrines of female deities attached to them.

There is an Indian proverb which says that one should not go visiting kings, deities in temples and elsewhere, his *guru* or preceptor, a child or a pregnant woman empty handed. So people when they go to temples take with them the necessary materials for an ordinary *pūja* or worship of the deity and a brief description of which will not be out of place here but prove highly interesting.

The deity is first given a bath and then decorated with clothes, jewels and garlands of flowers. Then scented smoke, lighted wicks and lighted camphor are offered. Then the offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, cooked rice, cakes etc., are offered. These they say are symbolical of the five elements fire, air, earth, water and space. As everything in the universe comes out of Him and merges in Him as a verse in an *upanishad* says, it is but proper that the elements out of which everything visible or capable of being sensed has come into existence are offered to Him by the people in the fulness of their heart's gratitude. This accounts for the temples dedicated to the five elemental Gods viz:

Conjeevaram for earth, Tiruvannāmalai for fire, Jambukēswaram for water, Kālahastī for air and Chidambaram for ether, being held in high esteem. A detailed description of these temples appears in my work on *South Indian Shrines*.

The devotees attending a temple generally perform what is called *pradakshanam* or Circumambulation. They go round and round a temple or the temple *prākāra* (Court) a number of times. The object with which this is being done is not clear. Many people go to the temples with a view to get themselves cured of certain ailments and perhaps this exercise was purposely designed for them and stamped with the seal of religious obligation. This is all the more probable since in villages people very rarely have opportunities for taking systematic physical exercise, and the open space in the temple scented with the fragrance of flowers from the temple gardens is best suited for the purpose.

Systematic observance of a practice adopted after deep and mature consideration is considered to be the first step in the ladder of progress in the path leading to *Mukti* or freedom from birth and death. Day after day, week after week, and year after year an aspirant for *mukti* should, without break, carry out a practice he has resolved to follow. What else but a temple can give him a better opportunity to test the strength of his resolution?

In addition to what has been set forth above, a temple may be said to be instrumental in bringing about social gathering and enjoyment. The annual and periodical observances of festivals in temples furnish men, women and children, gala days and they flock to the temples to participate in the festivities, and the rejoicings during those occasions. Temple images are brought out to be taken round in procession through the main streets of the towns and the villages either on *vāhanams* or vehicles belonging to the several deities, to wit, Bulls, Elephants, Brahmani-Kite, and so on or on cars dragged through by the people with great zeal and enthusiasm, pipers piping, drums beating and the holy brahmans reciting in chorus sacred vādic hymns and philosophical verses going by the name "*Thēvāram*", "*Thiruvāimoli*" etc. in tamil. Periodical float festivals are also held in temple tanks or in lakes near. The temple images of deities are placed on beautifully decorated rafts and rowed round and round with immense enthusiasm and delight. To break the monotony of life we find temples affording excellent opportunities as set forth above.

It is human nature that it craves for some means or other to show forth the innate love by concrete physical actions. People blessed with children show that unselfish love towards them in various ways such as fondling them and providing them with toys, cakes, jewels, dresses and so on. But people not blessed with children as well as people whose temperaments are such that children could not draw out of them

any such love, have in temples an object in the deity whereon their love and affection could be bestowed in the shape of devotion and offerings. This showing forth to the temple deity of love and affection is termed *Bhakti* in mystic parlance.

That Temples are edifices of great public utility in other ways also may be evinced from the fact that many a public meeting and religious discourse, discussion and lecture have been held in the temple *Mandapams* or halls. It is said that when Haidar Ali had camped at Chidambaram, the famous religious centre in the south Arcot district, he held his durbâr in the thousand-pillared mandapa or hall of the temple for days together finding it sufficiently accommodating and convenient.

That the welfare of the village and the people dwelling in it depends upon the welfare of the temple is a belief of every true Hindu from time immemorial. A great deal of care is taken in choosing the plot and the plan of erection of even an ordinary house to insure the happiness and welfare of the would-be dwellers therein. If any of the principles of house building in the right manner as laid down in the *silpa-sâstra* or the science of Architecture is violated and the building erected, then there is the danger of the owner of the house as well as the dwellers therein coming to grief. A faulty building is supposed to have caused not only misery but also death to successive owners of the same. A house when completed violating the principles laid down, brings harm only to one person or family, while a temple so constructed brings ruin and disaster on the whole village. Such indeed is or at any rate was the belief of the Hindus. The construction of a temple in the right manner is said to bestow on the donor merit immeasurable whereas woe to the architects and originators of faultily built temples!!!

The same may be said of images made and installed in temples with proper rites and ceremonies that make the locality a centre of radiating influence. If properly made and installed, they bestow happiness and prosperity on all, especially on the village and the villagers. Otherwise they bring on untold misery and wretchedness to all concerned.

Power and wealth in the hands of the good and the virtuous are boons and blessings indeed bestowed on humanity, whereas the same in the possession of the wicked and the unscrupulous would prove a veritable curse to all. The same may be said to be the case with the influence radiating from well-conceived or ill-conceived temples and temple images. Just as there are two uses for everything namely good use and bad use, temples and images in them have also two influences benignant and malignant is a fact believed in by the people of India. They, of course, try to avoid the latter and encourage the former by taking all possible care.

The citing of a few instances of the benignant and malignant influences exerted respectively by well-formed and ill-formed images of

Gods and Goddesses would surely be a fitting *coup de grace* to this aspect of the subject of enthralling interest. Let us say in passing that the images installed after the due performance of *Prânapratistha* or life-giving rites and ceremonies have a sort of craving for the finest ethereal portion of physical food stuff and this feeling may be compared to the feeling of hunger in men.

Just as hunger is appeased by the food taken by men, the life instilled images are also satisfied if food is but placed before them as offerings. Big grown up men require more food while young children are satisfied with a small quantity of it. The same is the case with images life-instilled small and big. The bigger the image the larger should be the quantity of food, etc placed before it as offering to fully satisfy the ethereal craving resembling our hunger. Hence it is that small images only are placed in houses where only a small quantity of food is cooked, whereas very big images are placed only in temples and very large quantities of food are placed before them as offerings.

This fact may be seen if one takes the trouble to go to the famous *Natarâja* temple at Chidambaram and witness one of the *pâvâdai* offerings to the deity. The report of the Madras Epigraphical Dept. for the year 1913-14 mentions on pp. 18 and 89 about the temple. Most of the inscriptions copied during the year refer to the later chôla kings and register grants of land for flower-gardens. In a few cases, gifts of land are also made for maintaining worship, offerings and festivals in the temple, for feeding houses, for founding streets' an *ugrahâra* or a new shrine, and for providing "special food offering known as *pâvâdai* which is observed even to this day. Boiled rice of determinate quantity is spread evenly over a plate measuring about 6 feet by 4 feet and offered in front of the *Natarâja* image."

Coming to the malignant influence exerted by ill-formed images the following instances are interesting to note. An ill-formed image (or it may be a properly formed one but proved dangerous being insufficiently fed or not fed at all) causing misery and death to the villagers was thrown out and was made use of by a butcher to keep the meat on. When the same image was reclaimed on a subsequent occasion and installed in a temple it is said to have expressed its desire through human agency by obsessing one, that it liked very much to go back to the butcher and enjoy the treat of meat showering on him in return untold wealth in the shape of profit in his bloody trade!! In another instance an image received by a brâhman as a gift was said to have caused him untold misery and sickness. When he disposed of it by gifting it over to another, the new recipient also shared the fate of the first recipient. When he placed the image in a temple to get rid of it, the temple priest had to undergo difficulties and troubles untold. Eventually the image was said to have been dropped into an out-of-the-way well.

A well-formed image is said to have raised a poor soldier to a very high rank in the army !!

With such beliefs it is but proper that temples and images must be brought into existence in strict accordance with the principles laid down in the Hindu *sāstras* for the good of the people and the king.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

"Architecture" is the art of building according to principles which are determined not merely by the ends the edifice is intended to serve, but by considerations of beauty and harmony. It is not the art of building simply or even of building well. The end of building as such, is convenience and use, irrespective of appearance, and the employment of materials to this end is regulated by the mechanical principles of the constructive art. As an art, the end of architecture is so to arrange the plan, masses, and enrichments of a structure as to impart to it, interest, beauty, grandeur, unity and power. Architecture thus necessitates the possession by the builder of gifts of imagination as well as technical skill.

'Like the other arts, architecture did not spring into existence at an early period of man's history. The ideas of symmetry and proportion which are afterwards embodied in material structures, could not be evolved until at least a moderate degree of civilisation has been attained. The efforts of primitive men in the construction of dwellings must have been at first determined solely by his physical wants. Only after these had been provided for, and materials amassed on which his imagination might exercise itself, would he begin to plan and erect structures, possessing not only utility, but also grandeur and beauty. We can hence say that the evolution of man and the evolution of Architecture have been brought about *pari passu*.'

Everywhere, the temples as public places of worship are the common property of all. Hence the evolution of temple architecture is very interesting to study. In fact, that the temples are the most magnificent edifices in every country is an acknowledged fact. It is said that the grandest architectural efforts of the Egyptians are shown in their built temples. In other countries also, the grandest efforts are shown in temple architecture. The reason for this is obvious. In ancient times, the function of a ruler was combined with that of a religious preceptor of the people in one individual. Hence he was able to command vast sums of money and immense labour for improving and refining temple architecture. Further, the religious aspect of the undertaking induced the workman to throw their religious fervour into their work. In fact very great inspiration has come to many of the temple architects, because of this fervour which has lifted them to very high levels of imagination. Even now the famous pipers of southern India are at their best not among the multitude assembled on marriage occasions,

but in the service of Gods in temples on festive occasions when they are full of religious enthusiasm.

We have heard of people who have endowed fabulous wealth to the services of God and the way in which these sums were utilised was in erecting temples of fine architectural design. We have also heard told that women in moments of religious fervour have made a present of all their ornaments to temple images of Gods. On certain festive occasions like the *Brahmōtsavam* festival of the deity presiding over the temples, jewels worth many lakhs of rupees are collected from the wealthiest of the place to decorate the images of the God and the Goddesses. Garlands formed of many ear ornaments set with brilliants together with innumerable other ornaments set with very valuable precious stones decorating the images on those occasions, are lent by the people with a religious fervour, really admirable and purely Indian one can say.

Work of art should be exhibited only in places thronged by people, if it should be properly appreciated. What other place, but the temple visited daily by hundreds of people not only local, but also coming from the different parts of the land, is best suited for the purpose? The most important sacred places are Chidambaram, Madura, Ramēswaram and Conjeevaram and in these places the temple architecture is a sight worth seeing indeed. The other places such as Hampi, Halebid, Mahābalipuram &c., have also fine temples built at tremendous cost and labour. Thousands of masons have worked for years together to erect the lofty spires. Thousands of sculptors have carved the images on the walls and pillars and the niches of these temples. The trellis work designs on rock gates of temples are really works of art we can say. The porticos in the several *prākāras* (Rectangular or circular pathways in the temple) can accommodate several thousands of people on festival occasions. The steps of the sacred tank of the temple, the porticos surrounding the tank for the devotees of God to sit and meditate on him, the mandapam in the middle of the tank itself to which the deity is taken annually, have all received their due share of care and attention to beauty, harmony, grandeur, unity and power.

God as the supremest being in the universe, must have a dwelling suitable for his dignity. God as a being eminently beautiful, must have everything around him highly beautiful. God as a being of might, must have a building grand and powerful. As God has created the universe well, his temple must be well built. This has been the ideal of the people.

Great philosophers and poets have graphically described the various forms seen in the universe to be really portions of one grand design. Some philosophers have also compared the universe to a tree and the various forms seen there to the various parts of the tree such as trunks, twigs, leaves, flowers, flower-buds, fruits and so on. So a grand design is a *sine qua non* now in all temples.

The lofty spires in temples represent not only the triumph of God, but they also represent the lofty levels from which inspiration &c are brought down. When going from below, we may say that men should rise to a very high level to understand God and bring the knowledge down to the lower levels. Every work must have a design archi-typal in the mental level to be crystallised in this physical world. An Engineer before erecting an edifice first forms a picture of it in his mind and then brings it down to the physical as an accomplished work. Similarly a man must rise beyond the mind even to understand God and materialise the knowledge in the lower levels.

A temple has towers on all the four sides. At the base of these towers, there are entrances. Surrounding the temples there are cities. This is symbolical. God manifests himself in every direction is shown by such a design. The design also means that people can approach God from every direction, since he is everywhere. God goes out to people in the cities through the various directions and people go to him entering his dwelling from the different directions.

The building of a public temple is considered to be a charity of great merit and virtue in India. Hence Kings of old spent a large portion of the revenue to build or renovate temples. They set apart portions of land for the upkeep of such temples. Even now the temples at least many of them depend on such gifts of land made by the former kings for their upkeep. People willingly and gladly subscribe large sums if they are approached for subscriptions for building new temples or renovating the old ones. The Nāttukkōttai chetties of southern India have spent and are still spending vast sums because of this belief though it is to be regretted they do not care to understand the principles laid down in the *śilpa śāstra* for such renovations and follow them. Almost all the important temples are pulled out and rebuilt in a grand scale by them.

A temple building has a design of its own. There must be a particular symmetry and arrangement in the structure. Any deviation from the established order in the design, any alterations in the symmetry and proportion of the several parts have to bear to one another, is supposed to cause death to the planner and the builder!! Even the village or city on which it is situated goes to ruin if the established rule is violated!!!

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B. A., B. L.

The charge is generally brought against graduates that they are not sufficiently acquainted with the past history of their country and its institutions; and the accusation is not wholly unfounded. The conditions of study in our Colleges are not quite favourable to the acquisition of ancient learning and when we leave the portals of the University and enter those of life, the struggle for existence occupies most part of our time and energy and very little of either is left to be spent upon so unfashionable and non-lucrative an occupation as the study of the past. It is, therefore, no wonder if some of us have come to think that we have no past worth knowing. But this attitude is quite untenable. We, as a nation, are, after all, what our past history has made us and however successfully we may attempt to improve upon that foundation, we cannot act as if we have had no past. That is to say, we cannot, to borrow a much hackneyed simile, begin with a clean slate. Our slate has been considerably scribbled upon. We may perhaps form new figures and pictures by lengthening, broadening or deepening the old lines or drawing fresh lines where there is space left; but we cannot wipe off the old lines with a single application of the sponge. The proper thing would be to engraft the new learning upon the old so as to make them both grow into an organic whole. To put it in another way, the practical teaching of the modern culture should be superimposed on the spiritual basis of the ancient Indian culture, so that, on the one hand, the activities which the former is calculated to stimulate—not by being employed in pursuit of unsatisfying and cross purposes run to waste—may be properly directed and guided by a knowledge of the true goal towards which all human action must converge and, on the other hand, the latter may be prevented from degenerating into fatalism, superstition and inaction. If this be so, it is imperatively necessary that we should be in touch with our national literature and culture.

For some years past, there have been signs of a reviving interest in the ancient culture of this country. This is partly due to the spirit of enquiry and comparison which the modern education inculcates and partly to the examples set by the great Orientalists of the West from Sir William Jones downwards.

This paper is based chiefly on Mādhavāchārya's Vyavahāra Kānda. This treatise purports to be a part of Mādhava's Commentaries on Parāśara Smṛiti but is not really based on that Smṛiti, for, Parāśara did not treat of law at all. Mādhava has supplied the omission by

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collecting what is said on the subject in the other smritis and his dissertation is a digest of jurisprudence based on those Smritis. The book treats of the substantive as well as the adjective law and I have chosen the latter as the subject of this paper, because it is the less known of the two. For, while a portion of the ancient substantive law of the land is still administered by our Courts, the judicial procedure prescribed in the Smritis was centuries ago, superceded by the Muhamadan law which, in its turn, has given place to the modern law of British based on English law.

Mādhavāchārya had no little share in laying the foundations of the Vizianagar Empire at the commencement of the 14th Century of the Christian Era. At that time, the Muhammadans had not yet succeeded in extending their rule South of the Krishna River. We may, therefore, fairly presume that the procedure which I am going to describe was in use in Mādhava's time in Southern India, at any rate.

Chapter 5 of section 4 of Śukranītisāra also deals with jurisprudence. This is an epitome of what is more elaborately treated by Mādhava and does not add much to what we find there.

The author begins by stating that it is the duty of the King to administer justice according to law and impartially.¹ The function of the King is to protect the people committed to his care and one of the most important ways of doing this is by proper administration of justice. While the Smritis insist on the King performing his duties as a Judge or Magistrate, it is noticeable that they nowhere refer to him as a law giver. The idea of all law proceeding from the throne belongs to Roman jurisprudence and was unknown in Hindu India. The King should administer laws as he finds them. Where do they come from, then? They are based on immemorial customs prevalent among the people, reduced to writing by great Rshis from time to time. In fact, Dharma Śāstras are codifications of the customary law of the land, codifications made, not by the King or by any one deriving authority from the King but, by some eminent lawyer of each period who was so very much superior to other lawyers of his time that his codification was accepted as binding on all until it was, in any respect, repealed by a similar subsequent codification. These codifications bear the names of their authors just as Acts of the British Parliament are sometimes named after the members who introduce them. Variations in the Smritis show that the customary law of the land changed from time to time in spite of codifications and Smritis expressly provide, as will be seen later, that customs, local as well as tribal, and family customs, should be respected though they may vary from the codified general law,

1. Vyavahārān nṛpāḥ paśyēd vidvadbhiḥ brāhmaṇais saha
Dharma śāstrānusāreṇa kródha lōbha vivarjitāḥ

Yājñavalkya.

provided they are not destructive of its fundamental principles. The King has no power to alter these laws in any way but is bound to administer them as he finds them.

Vyavahāra is the comprehensive name for the administration of justice. It is defined as follows by Kātyāyana:—

Prayatna sādhyē vicchinnē Dharmākhyē Nyāyavistarē |

Sādhyamālastu yō vātō vyavahāras sa uchyatē |

That is when through decline of dharma, it becomes necessary for one to establish one's claim to any thing; the settlement of this claim is called *Vyavahāra*. Thus, decline of Dharma is the root of *Vyavahāra*. The word *Dharma* is used in different senses in different contexts but in its most classical sense, the sense in which it is used here, it means the duty prescribed by law. It is the chief among the three which man seeks in this world the others being *ardha*, (*purushardhas*) and *Kāma*. There is a perpetual feud between *Dharma* or duty and *ardha* or self-interest and this feud is responsible for all the disputes in the world. As long as *Dharma* or sense of duty holds complete sway over men's minds, the passions are kept in check and no trouble ensues but when men forget their duties and attempt to extend conflict necessarily ensues between man and man and *Vyavahāra* is the result.

It is a common subject of lament in India that there has been a gradual decline of *Dharma* in the world. Nārada says for instance, that when Manu reigned, all people were truth-speakers and all were intent on *Dharma*. There was then no hatred and no malice and therefore, *Vyavahāra*.¹ Brihaspati endorses this view and states that *Vyavahāra* becomes necessary on account of people being moved by avarice and hatred.² This is a prosaic way of expressing the familiar idea that Dharma walked on four legs in Kritayuga, hopped on three in Trêta and two in Dvâpara and is trying to stand on one in the present Kali Yuga. Whatever may be the value to be attached to this statement, there are many who think that dharma shows a tendency to decline in proportion to the advance of Modern Civilization. If increase of litigation is a sign of the decline of dharma as Nārada and Brihaspati tell us, that decline must be going on at a pretty repaid rate. Soon after I went to Russell Konda in the Ganjam District seven years ago, I was trying a criminal case in which a Khond appeared as a witness. The

1. Manuprajāpati ryaśmin kâle rājyam abābhujat
dharmāikathānāḥ puruṣāḥ tadasan satyavādinaḥ

Nārada.

2. Dharmapradhānāḥ puruṣāḥ pūrva māśanna himśakāḥ
Lōbhadvēśābhībhūtānām vyavahārah pravartate

Brihaspati.

Vakil for the party against whom the Khond was deposing, tried to impugn his credibility, when the witness addressing the Court said "I am a Khond. I do not speak lies." The Vakil retorted that the man was only an Oriya Khond i. e., a Khond who came and settled down in the low country among the Oriyas in fact a civilized Khond!

Classes of Courts :—Sabhas or Courts are of two kinds — the regular (*Mukhya*) and the special (*amukhya*). The latter comprise special courts intended for the trial of cases between parties belonging to special professions, trade guilds and castes, which have to be decided according to special laws or customs applicable to those classes. Provision is made, for instance, for hill Courts for hill people, Courts Martial for Soldiers, mercantile Courts for merchants, special caste Courts for special castes, Village Courts for disposal of petty litigation among villagers and so on.¹ These Courts are generally manned by persons belonging to the same special class to which the parties belong, so that they can dispose of the matter in dispute with a knowledge of all the circumstances bearing on it.

The regular Courts are either stationary (*Pratishthita*) or Circuit (*apratishthita*) Courts and these are again divided into two classes—viz—*Sastrita* or Courts presided over by the King in person and *Mudrita* i. e. Court presided over by Judges appointed under the King's seal.² We may suppose that the supreme Courts were, as a rule presided over by the Kings in person and that they appointed Judges to preside over provincial Courts. Manu empowers a King to appoint a substitute (*pratinidhi*) when he cannot himself preside over a Court and the Officer so appointed could exercise all the powers of the King.³

1. Dasasthânâni vâdânâm panca caibâbravîn manuh
nirnayâ yêna gaobchanti vivâdam prâpya vâdinah.
Aranyastu svakaih kuryuh sârtha ssarthakais tathâ
sainika ssainikairêva grâmëpyubhayavâsibhih.
Ubhayânumatam caiva grhyate sthânamîpsitam
Kulikâs sârtha mukhyâs ca purâ grâma nivâsinah.
Grâmapaura gapâ srênyas caturvidyâs ca varginah
Kulâni kulikas caiva niyuktâ nṛpais tathâ.
2. Pratishthita pratishthî ca mudritâ sâstritâ tathâ
caturvidhâ sabhâ prôktâ sabhyas caiva caturvidhâh.
pratishthita purê grâmê sabha ranje pratishthitâ
Mudritâ dhyaksha sahita râja yuktâ ca sâstrita

Brhaspati.

3. Yadâ svayam na kuryât tu nṛpatih kârya darśanê
tadâ niyunjyad vidvâmsam brâhmanam kârya darśane
Sôsa kâryani sampâsyêt sabhyairêva tribhîrvrtâh
sabhâmêva praviśyâ gryam asina sthita êva ca

What follows applies, in the first instance, to the supreme Court wherein the King dispenses justice personally and to the inferior Courts *Mutatis Mutandis*.

Court house:—The Court house should be situated in the eastern part of the King's Fort facing the East. It should be built in accordance with the laws of architecture (*Vāstu Sastra*), surrounded by shady trees and provided with good water supply. It should be furnished with seats for the Judges and others and its walls should be decorated with the pictures of Gods etc. The atmosphere about the Court House must be kept pure and fragrant by means of flowers and incense and samples of seeds and precious stones should be stocked, apparently for use in connection with ordeals.

Court Hours:—Kātyāyana divides the day into eight parts and setting the first apart for the performance of such daily rites as every *dvija* is bound to perform, allot the next three parts to Vyavahāra.¹ This means that, supposing the day to begin at 6 A.M. and end at 6 P.M., the Court hours are from 7–30 A.M. to 12 noon. *Sukranīti Sāra* differs from this and lays down that the enquiry should be held in the afternoon while the forenoon should be devoted to the study of the law applicable to the case. No fixed time should be observed, however, in the trial of grave crimes such as murder and theft, for, they should be tried without delay.²

Holidays:—No Court is to be held on the *Chaturdasis*, *Amāvasya* and *pournami*, i. e., on four days in the month. These are the regular holidays. Of course, there must have been many occasional holidays.

Constitution of the Court:—The Court consists of ten members viz. The King, the *prādvivāka*, the *Sabhyas*, the *ganaka* or accountant, the *Lēkhaka* or Clerk, *Smṛiti* or the law, gold, fire, water and *Sādhyapālaka* i. e. the Court Keeper or the Court Inspector.³ The

- 1 Divaso sasyāśtāmam bhūgam muktyā kālāt tayam ca yat
sakalo vyavahārānam sāstra dhvaṣṭah parah smṛtah

Kātyāyana.

- 2 Nyāyān paśyātu madhvāhnē pīrvāhnē smṛti darśanam
Manushya maraṇe stēve śāhasē tyāvikē sadā
na kāla niyamas tatra sadya ēva vivācanam

Sukranīti sāra.

- 3 Nrpōbhikṛtah sabhyas ca smṛtir ganika lēkhakau
Hemāgnyambu sva purushōsāadhanāṅgāni vai dasa,
ētaddasāṅga karanam yasya madhyāsya pārthivah
Nyāyān paśyē kṛta matih sa sabha dhvamsa sammitā.

Brhaspati.

first three form the Bench. The Clerk, the accountant and the Court Keeper are the Officers of the Court while the other four elements are things which should always be kept in Court for use — the law for constant reference and gold, fire and water for swearing witnesses or parties in the same way as the Bible is now used for swearing Christian witnesses.

The seats of Judges and Officers :—The King should sit in the centre of the bench (*Dharmāsana*) facing the east, the Sabhyas including the *prādvivāka* on his right facing the north, the bench clerk on the left and the accountant opposite the bench facing the west.

The relative positions of the King etc :—The King is the judge and the decision is his and must be issued under his signature and seal. The *prādvivāka* and the Sabhyas are to assist him in arriving at the truth and deciding the case justly. He must administer justice impartially being influenced neither by love nor by hatred.¹

Prādvivāka :—*Prādvivāka* is a most important limb of the Court. He is next to the King both in his position on the bench and in authority. He it is who examines the parties and witnesses and helps to ascertain the truth and is called *prādvivāka* on that account.² This Officer has to remove difficulty from the matter in dispute—by means of reason and inference, even as a surgeon removes a splinter from the patient's body with his instruments.³ Naturally very high qualifications are prescribed for this functionary. He must, of course, be learned in law. In addition, he must not be cruel but he must be sweet-tempered, sympathetic, discerning and not avaricious.⁴ He should be a Brahmin but failing to get a learned Brahmin, the King may appoint a learned Kshatria and failing him, a learned Vaisya.

Vakils:—The *Prādvivāka* is sometimes used now-a-days to mean a pleader but this is not its classical meaning. A pleader or

1. tasmād dharmāsanam prāpya rājā vigata matsarah
śāsyāt sarva bhūtēsa bibhadyeva svatām vratam.
Yathā yamah priya dveshyau prāpta kāle niyaccati
tatha rājā niyautavyah prajās taddhi Yama vratam

Nārada.

2. Vivāda samsritam dharmam prcchati prāk sṛtam matam
vivacayati ca yas tasmāt prādvivākas tu sa smrtah.

Nārada.

3. Yathā śalyam bhishakkṣyād uddharēd atra yuktisah
prādvivākas tatha śalyam uddharēd vyavahāratah

Nārada.

4. Akṛūro madhuras snigdhah kramśyātō vicakṣaṇah
utāḥavān alubāhas ca vāde yajyo nṛpēna tu.

Vakil is called *pratinidhi* (agent) or *niyogi* i. e., one authorized to act on behalf of the party. But a *pratinidhi* or *niyogi* does not appear to be exactly the same as the modern Vakil. He had, for instance, nothing to do with the examination of witnesses which was done by the *prādvivāka* but could and no doubt often did suggest questions to that functionary. He was in the position of an agent and appeared for the party employing him, when the party's personal attendance was dispensed with. Whatever was done by a *Niyogi* was binding on the party employing him as if he had done it himself.¹ The Vakil should be well acquainted with the law and procedure. His fee should not exceed $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ of the value of the subject matter of the suit and he is liable to be punished if he extorts more by avarice.²

This is all about duly authorized agents but a party may be represented by his near relations such as father, son or brother without a *Vakalat*. In cases of grave offences such as *murder, theft, adultery, seducing an unmarried girl, sedition etc*, the accused must appear and defend himself in person and cannot be allowed to appear by agent.³

Sabhyas:—Next to the *prādvivāka* are the *Sabhyas* who should be seven, five or three in number. They are selected for their knowledge of law and have to advise the King on the law applicable to the case in hand and perhaps also on the merits of the case generally. They have no power to decide. None has this power except the King but the King is bound to be guided by them in deciding the case at least in regard to law. They must have wordly experience and must be well versed in the Vedic lore and the Civil law.⁴ Persons unacquainted

1. yañ kascid kārayēt kiñcin niyogād yēna kēnacid
tat tēnaiva kṛtam jñeyamanivāryam hi tat smṛtañ

Sukranītisāra.

2. Niyōgātasyāpi bhṛtim vivādat shōdaśāmsikim
Vimsat yamsam tadartham vā tadartham ca tardhikam
Yatha dravyādikam kāryam hināhna bhṛtis tatha
yadi bahu niyōgai syād anyathā tasya pōshanam.
dharmajñō vyavahārajñō niyōktavyō nyadā navā
Anyathā bhṛti grhaamtam dandayēt ca niyōginām.

Sukranītisāra.

3. Manushya maranē stēyē paradārābhimarśanē
Abhakshya bhakshanē caiva kanyā harana dūshanē.
pārushyē kṛtakaranē nrpa drōhē ca sāhasē
Pratinidhir na dātavyah karttā tu vivadēt svayam.

Sukranītisāra.

4. Lōka vādanga dharmajnā ssapta panca trayōpivā
Yatrōpavishta viprāssy ssa yajnā sadṛśi sabha.

Brhaspati.

with the customs of the country or ignorant of law, unbelievers, idiots, men in distress, and those that are irritable or avaricious are unfit to be Sabhyas. ¹

Great is the merit of a righteous and just Sabhya who, by the application of law, can restore the rights of an aggrieved party by clearing the doubts in which through ignorance those rights have been involved, like a clever Oculist who, by the application of an ointment removes the cataract and restores the eyesight of a blind man. Such a man enjoys fame in this life and goes to heaven after death. ²

Bench Clerk:—Lākhaka is the scribe or bench clerk. His chief duty is to write down the pleadings which are made orally. The Clerk must be one who can write legibly and grammatically, a truth loving man and one who is not passionate or avaricious. ³

The Accountant:—The gaṇika or accountant is for making money-calculations involved in suits. He must be versed in the Vedas as well as in Astronomy. ⁴

Sādhyapāla:—Sādhyapāla or Sapurusha is an officer of the Court whose duty it is to procure the attendance of parties and witnesses, to preserve order in court and execute its decrees. He should be an able bodied sudra and should be ready to carry out all orders of the Court. ⁵

Law, fire, water and gold:—The other essentials of a court are the law, the use of which is obvious and fire, water and gold which are made use of in swearing witnesses.

Brihaspati compares a Court to a human body of which the King is the head, prādivāka the mouth, Sabhyas the arms, law the

1. Deśacārānabhiññāyē naṣṭikā sāsūtravarjitāḥ
unmatta kruddha lubdhārtha na prastavya vinirnayē.

Brihaspati.

2. Ajnāna timirōpētān sandēha paṭalānvan
Nirāmāyanyah kurute sāstrajñāna śalākaya
Iha kīrtim avāpnōti labhatē svargatam ca sah.

Brihaspati.

3. Sphuṭalēkham niyunjita sabda lākṣhaṇikam sucim
Sphuṭākṣharam jita krōdham alubdham satyavādinam.
4. Tri skandha jyēutishābhijñam sphuṭa pratyaya kārakam
srutādhyayana sampannam gaṇakam yojayēn nṛpāḥ.

5. Sādhyā pālās tu kartavyo rājna sādhyasya sādhakah
Kramāyāto dyatas sūdraḥ sabhyānām ca mate sthitah.
Akarane rakṣaṇe 'ca sākṣi pratyardhi vādinam
sabhyādbhināsa satyavādi kartavyas tu svapūrushah.

hands, clerk and accountant the legs, fire, water and gold the eyes and Sādhyapālaka the feet. ¹

Taking cognisance of cases:—Having determined the constitution of the court, we are now in a position to follow the trial of cases.

It is laid down, as a general rule, that the King should only try cases on complaint made to him by aggrieved parties and not *Suo motu*. This is to prevent the King from meddling in the private affairs of his subjects actuated, it may be, by love, hate or avarice. Criminal offences are excepted from this rule, and the King is given power to take cognizance of them of his own accord. When the king is unable to take the initiative he may take cognizance of them on the complaint of a Stōbhaka i. e., aggrieved party or on information laid by a Sūchaka who is a person appointed by the King to detect crime. ² It will be seen that this law is in accord with the modern law of this country and that the threefold method of taking cognizances of offences corresponds to the threefold method prescribed in Section 190 of Criminal Procedure Code where a Magistrate is empowered to take cognizance of cases on complaint, or on Police report or on his own knowledge. Except in the matter of taking cognizance, in regard to punishment and in a few other respects which will be referred to in their proper places, no distinction is made between Civil and Criminal cases in regard to the procedure. All causes seem to have been treated alike as torts which, in fact they are.

1. Tēsham mārḍha nṛpōṅganam mukhān cā dhikṛtah kṛtah
Bahu sabhyah smṛtir hastau janghē gaṇaka lekṣakau
Hemagnyambu dṛsau tatra palasuya puruṣhas tathā.
2. Na rāḡēna na lōbhēna na krōdhēna grasēn nṛpah
parairaprāpitānarthhān na cā pi sva manishayā.
chalāni cāparadhams ca pādāni nṛpatīs tatha
svāmētāni grhnyās tva vēdakairvinā.

Pitāmaha.

Yathā chalādīni rājā svayam dṛastu masaktah tadā stōbhakāt
sūcakādbōdhavyāni.

Mādhava.

Sāstrēṇa ninditam tvardha mukhyās cā rtha pracōditah
Avēdayati yah pūrvam stōbhakas sa udāhrtah.
Nṛpēnaiva niyuktōyahparadōsha mavēkshitam
Nṛpasya sūcayēd jnatyā sūcakas sa udāhrtah

Kātyāyana.

Four parts of trial:—The trial is divided into 4 parts Vīz—*pratijñā* plaint or complaint, *uttaram* answer or written statement, *Kriyā* proof and *Nirnaya* decision.

Plaint or complaint:—When the complainant or plaintiff appears in Court, he should be asked to state the case and what he states should be taken down by the clerk on a slate and after it is scrutinized and made conformable to law, it should be copied on a *cadjan* or other leaf¹. The same thing is to be done in regard to the answer.

Plaint, its contents and language:—The plaintiff should be examined in the presence of the defendant. The language of the plaint should be concise (*Alpāksharam*) and free from ambiguity (*Asandigdham*.) The plaint should *prima facie* be faultless and admissible (*Niravadhyam*) and should set out the material facts of the claim (*Supratijñam*), the evidence by which it is to be proved (*Sapramānam*) and the title on which it rests. It should state, among other things, the cause of action (*Pīda*) where and when it arose, the names and castes of the parties and the subject matter of the suit (*Dravyam*). It should be free from faults and must be based on a valid cause of action. Plaints which do not give the necessary particulars such as the time and place of the cause of action or the relief sought and do not indicate the evidence on which the claim is based, should be rejected summarily; so also suits in which the relief sought is unknown to law (*Aprasiadham*), suits where the plaintiff has sustained no injury (*Nirābādham*) purposeless suits *Nishprayōjanam* and claims for relief which is impossible to grant (*Asōdhyam*.) In regard to the time of the cause of action, the year, the month, the fortnight and the date must be given. The names of the parties and of their fathers, their ages and residence as well as the exact place where the cause of action arose should be stated in the plaint. In suits for immovable property, the plaint must state how and when the property was acquired by the plaintiff or his ancestors². A plaint in which

1. Pūrvapakshah svabhāvōktam prādvivākō bhilākhayēt
pāndu lēkhēna phalakē tatah patrē visōdhitam.

Kātyāyana.

2. Upasthitē tavas tazmin vādī paksham prakalpayēt
Niravadyam supratijñam pramādāgama samyutam.
Dēsa stāna samā māsa paksha haranam ajātitaḥ
Dravyam sankhyōdayam pīdam kshēmam lingam ca lēkhayēt.
Pratijñā dōsha nirmuktaḥ sādham sat kāraṇānvitam
Niscitam lōkasiddham ca paksham pakshavidō viduḥ.
Alpākshara stv asandigdho bahvardhās cā pyanākulah
yuktō virōdhi karapair virōdha pratishēdhakah.

Brhaspati.

several causes of action which ought to be separately tried, are joined *prakīrṇardhah* or in which the claim is time barred (*Ātitakālah*) and a plaint in which two inconsistent claims are set up (*Durishtah*) should be rejected¹. When A complains that B his neighbour is moving about in his house with the help of the light in A's house, it is an instance of a claim where there is no injury, for, A has suffered no loss by B's action. An instance of a purposeless suit is where a man is sued for singing melodiously near plaintiff's house. The complaint that the defendant laughed at the plaintiff with his eyebrows knit, is given as an illustration of a suit for an impossible remedy. It is a general rule that no suits should be entertained which are opposed to the rights of the state and to the general rights of the country or the people i. e. which are opposed to public policy². A plaint may be amended at any time before the defendant is called upon to answer and not afterwards³. The following persons are disqualified from bringing suits—Viz. A man that is insane or drunk, a man that has been found guilty of any of the great sins (*Mahāpātakas*) an idiot, and a very old or very young person⁴.

Dēsa kāla vihinās ca Dravya sankhyādī varjitah
sādhya prāmana hīnas ca pakshō nādēya isyatē.

Kātyāyanā.

Atra siddham nirābhādham nirardham nishprayōjanam
asādhyaṃ vā viruddham va pakshābhāsam vivarjayēt.
Nirdiśya kāla varsham ca māsam paksham tithim tadhā
vēlām pradēsam viśhayam sthānam jātyākṛtiṃ vayah.
Sādhya dravya pramānam ca sankhya nāma tadha tmanah
Rājnam cakṛa masō nama nivāsam sādhya nāmāca.
Kramāt pitṛṇām nāmāni pīḍam śhartru dāyakau
Kṣhamālingani cā nyānīpaksham samkīrtya kalpayēt

Kātyāyanā.

1. Bhinnakramo vyutkramārdhah prakīrṇārdho nirardhakah
Ātita kālō dvishas ca pakshō nādēya ishyatē.
2. Rājnopā varjitō yastu yas ca paura virōdha kṛt
Rāshtrasya vā samastasya prākṛtinām tadhaiva ca.
Anyēsham vā pura grāmamahājana virōdhakah
Anādēyas tu tē sarvē vyavahārah prakīrtitah.

Brhaspati.

3. Sōdhayēt pūrva vādam tu yāvan nōttara darsanah
Avashṭabdhā syōttarēṇa nivṛttam sōdhanam bhavēt.

Nārada.

4. Unmatta matta dhūrtas ca mahā pātaka dūṣhitah
Jaḍadhī vṛddha bālas ca vijñēyasyur niruttarah.

Brhaspati.

Answer or defence:—When the plaint is made conformable to law and the suit is entertained, the defendant should be called upon to state his defence. If he does not do so voluntarily, he should be forced to speak. Failing milder means, he is liable to be fined, whipped or imprisoned for failure to make a statement¹. If, for a sufficient reason, the defendant applies for time to make a statement it should be granted according to the following scale viz:—If the cause of action arose on the same day on which the suit is filed, no time should be given. If it is old but recent, one day should be given. Three days may be given where the cause of action is 6 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 10 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 13 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, one month if it is 30 years old and six weeks in older cases. In the case of idiots, madmen, minors, persons suffering from chronic diseases and those engaged in the performance of sacrifices or other rituals occupying a long time (*Dikshitah*) one year's time may be given, if necessary. Generally, no adjournments should be given for filing a statement in Criminal cases, for these cases should be tried and disposed of without loss of time. Like the plaint, the answer should be written down by the clerk and made conformable to law. The answer must traverse the entire ground covered by the plaint (*Vyâpakam*), must state the whole of the defendant's case (*Sâram*) and must be unambiguous and plain².

Four kinds of pleas:—The defence set up may be one of admission (*Sampratipatti*) denial (*Midhya*) confession and avoidance (*pratyavaskandhanam*) or *res judicata* (*prangnyaya*) or *purvanyaya*.

Denial:—Denial may be simple or may take the form of saying that the defendant knows nothing about the cause of action or that he was not present at the time and place mentioned in the plaint, or that he was not born then.

1. Pârva pakshê yadarthêna na dadyâd uttarân tu yah
pratyarthi dapanfyasyât samâdhibhir upakramaih.
Priya pârva vacassûma bhêdastûbhayadarsinah
ardha prakarshanam dandas tâdanam bandhanam tatha.

Yājñavalkya.

2. Pakshasya vyâpakam sâram asandigdham anâkulam
avyâkhyâ gamya mityêtad uttaram tad vidô viduh.

Prajâpati.

Midhyâkâranayor vâpi grahyam kâranam uttaram.

Hârîta.

na ca kasmin vivâdêtu kriyâsyadayadi nô rdvayôh
Na ca rdha sidhi rubhayô na caikartru kriyâd yayam.

Kâtyâyana.

Confession and avoidance:—Confession and avoidance is where a defendant admits the original transactions and shows cause why decree should not be passed against him as, when a defendant admits having borrowed money from the plaintiff and pleads discharge. If the defendant, without going into the merits of the plaintiff's claim, pleads *Res judicata* that, in respect of the same cause of action, there has been a prior suit between him and the plaintiff and that the plaintiff lost it, the plea is called one *prangnyaya vidhi* or *res judicata*.¹

Burden of proof:—As soon as the answer is settled, the Court must declare on whom the burden of proof lies and call upon such party to adduce his evidence. Where the plea is one of denial, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff and in other cases it is on the defendant. The plea of *res judicata* or of confession and avoidance generally involves the plea of denial also. For instance, if A sues B for the recovery of a cow and states "This cow is mine, It was missed on such and such a day. I have now discovered it in B's house" and B answers. "This claim is false. The cow was in my house long before the day mentioned by the plaintiff. In fact, it was born in my house", this is a mixed plea of denial and avoidance and the burden of proof is on the defendant, for, it is only in cases of pure denial that it is on the plaintiff. Burden of proof should entirely be on one side or the other but not partly on one side and partly on the other, in one and the same trial. It is not, therefore, permissible to combine in the same answer different kinds of pleas involving a difference in the incidence of burden of proof. For instance, if the complaint is that the defendant borrowed from the plaintiff a quantity of gold and also one hundred rupees and the defendant denies having borrowed gold and admits the borrowing of the rupees but pleads discharge, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff in

1. Yāvadāsevitam kincin mat sambandha mihā rdhinā
tāvat sarvam asambhūtam iti midhyōttaram śrtam.
Asyēva dāyam ēvaitān nasambhavitam ardhinah
iti samprati patyākhyam dvitīyam idam uttaram.
Dattamēva mayā nēna kim tvasy āpi mayā punah
prati dattam iti prōktam pratyavaskandanam smrtam.
Asmin sangatē pūrvam prārabdhosmyaham ambuna
Jitas ca yam mayā tatra prāngnyāya vidhir ucyatē.

Prajāpati.

Ardhinā likhitōh yārdhah pratyardhi yad itam tathā
prapādyā kāranam brūyat pratyavaskandanam hi tat.
Asminnardhē mayā nēna vādah pūrvam abhūt tathā
Jitōyam iti cēd brūyāt Prāngnyayas sa udahrtam.

Sukranītisāra.

regard to gold and on the defendant in regard to rupees. These two issues should not be tried together. Suppose again that, in the above mentioned case, the defendant pleads discharge in regard to gold and *res judicata* in regard to the rupees. Here, though the burden of proof is on the defendant in regard to both pleas, there is a difference, in kind, between the evidence to be adduced on one issue and that to be adduced on the other for, the plea of *res judicata* is to be proved by the production of the judgment in the former case or by the evidence of those that tried that case, whereas the plea of discharge is to be proved by documentary or oral evidence of a different kind. Take a more complicated case, a case in which the plaintiff claims the return of gold¹ rupees and clothes and the defendant pleads discharge, denial and *res judicata* respectively. In all cases of this kind, the issues should be tried and disposed of separately. This rule is no doubt intended to secure simplicity of procedure. The issues should be taken up and tried in the order of their importance in the suit or that issue should be tried the disposal of which will dispose of the other issues.¹

Defendant exparte:—The defendant is liable to be declared to have lost his case (1) if he changes his defence after it is committed to writing and accepted by the Court, (2) if he fails to produce his witnesses. (3) if he is absent when called or absconds or (4) if he fails to state his defence when called upon to do so.²

Restoration of a case:—A suit which is dismissed summarily under the above mentioned rule may be restored to file on payment of fine (according to the scale prescribed). If after the pleadings are settled, the parties withdraw from the case under circumstances which amount to contempt of Court, they are liable to be fined. But if the parties really repent and earnestly desire to enter into a compromise, the King should permit them to do so.³

1. Yat prabhūtā rāḥya viśhayam yatra vasyāt kriyā phalam
uttaram tatra tadjñeyam asankīrṇa mato nyathā.

Hārta.

2. Anyavādī panan pañca kriyā dvēshi panān daśa
nō pāsthata daśa dyau ca shōḍaśaiva niruttarah
Abhūta vyapālāyica panān grahyās tu vimsatim.

Kātyāyana.

3. Pūrvōttarē sannivishṭe vicārē sampravartitē
prasaramam yē mithe yāntidapyaṣṭē dvigunam damam.
Pūrvōttarēpi likhitē prakrāntē kārya nirpayē
dvayō śśantaptayō sandhi syāt ayaḥ khanda yō riva
Tatra rājājñayā sandhir ubhayorapi āśyāt.

Brhaspati.

Plurality of suits and counter-suits:—No suit should be filed against a man during the pendency of another suit against him either by the same plaintiff or by another; nor can a defendant put forth a counter-claim against the plaintiff until the suit against him is disposed of. This rule applies only to Civil suits.

Proof or evidence:—The evidence is either human or divine. By divine evidence is meant the evidence afforded by ordeals and is so called because the gods are said to make use of it when they are in doubt.¹ Human evidence should be preferred to divine evidence and the latter should be resorted to only in the absence of the former or where it does not avail. For instance, it may be used in the case of offences committed in secret or where by lapse of time, human evidence has been destroyed or where it is equally balanced on both sides and no conclusion can be drawn from it.

Human evidence—oral and documentary:—Human evidence is either oral (*Sākshi*) or documentary (*Likhitam*). A third kind of evidence is also mentioned under the name of Bhukti or enjoyment but this is not evidence in the strict sense of the term and will be treated of separately.

Witnesses:—A witness (*Sākshi*) is one who speaks to that which he has seen with his own eyes or heard with his own ears.

Qualification of witnesses:—Witnesses should be chosen from among persons who love justice and truth, are well to do and have children, are of good family, conduct themselves in accordance with the law, are free from hatred and malice, who are independent and are comparatively young.

Disqualification of witnesses:—Cowards, persons who are interested in the subject matter of the suit, or in the parties or are hostile to the parties, persons who have been convicted for offences, who are afflicted in mind or body, are unfit to be witnesses. So also slaves, old people, children, women, insane and drunken persons, sanyasis, travellers by land or sea, out-castes, eunuchs, sellers of poisons, snake charmers, oil mongers, astrologers, men who live by prostituting their wives, dealers in liquors, public detectives and near relations and many more whom it is unnecessary to name here. Disqualified witnesses

1. Yasmād devaih prayuktāni dushkriyārdhā mahātmabhih
paraspara visudhyārdham tasmād divyāni nāmatah

Sukrantisāra.

2. Dharmajñān putrinō maulah kulīnas satyavādinah
śrauta smārta kriyā yuktaḥ vigata dvēṣaḥ matsarah.
śrōtriya āparādhinah sūrayas ca pravāsinah
yuvānah sākshinah kāryaḥ rpadishu vijānatā.

Vyāsa.

may be examined in the absence of qualified ones and there is no disqualification for witness in criminal cases.¹ Ordinarily witnesses should be of the same class, tribe or caste as the parties and in disputes between persons following the same profession, witnesses also should be of that profession, women should be witnesses in cases between women.² These rules are put rather broadly and it seems not unreasonable to presume that they were considerably modified in actual practice.

Number of witnesses necessary:—The number of witnesses necessary to prove a point is three or more but two will do if they are pious and respectable persons. One witness is not sufficient except in the case of the following special witnesses viz:—a messenger (*Dūta*) accountant (*ganaka*) Umpire (*Kāryamadhyagata*) the King, and the *prādivāka*. Vyāsa is more liberal and lays down that where more witnesses are not available, a single witness is sufficient especially in Criminal cases, provided that witness is pure-minded, loves justice and is of steady habits.³

1. Dāsa naikṛtakas śuddha vṛddha strī bāla chatrikāḥ
matt ōnmatta pramatt āṛta kitava grāma yājakāḥ.
mahāpadhika samudra vanik pravṛjīta āturāḥ
Yugmaikas śrōtriyaścāra hīna klība kuṣṭlavāḥ.

Nārada.

2. Asāksino ye nirdiṣṭāḥ dāsa naikṛt ikādayaḥ
kārya gauravam āsādyā bhavēyus tē pi sākṣinaḥ

Nārada.

Stēya ca sāhasē caiva pārushyē sangama striyāḥ
rāgādīnām prayōgē ca na dōṣhas sākṣisu smṛtāḥ.

Nārada.

Brāhmaṇa kṣatriyā vaiśyā sūdrā yē cā pyaninditāḥ
prativarṇam bhavēyus tē sarvā sarvēṣu vā punaḥ.
Brāhṇiṣhu śrāṇi puruṣaḥ syēṣhu vargēṣhu vargināḥ
bahiryāsishu bāhyassyuh striyā strī ca sākṣināḥ.
Nava sapta pañca vā syus catvāras traya ēva vā
ubhau vā śrōtriyau khyātā naikam prachhād kadācana.
Dātākāḥ khandikā grāhi kāryamadhyā gatas tathā
āka ēvā pramanasyān nṛpōdhyakṣas tathaiḥ ca.

Brhaspati.

Sāci sthīrātma dharmajñas sākṣi yatrā nubhūtavān
pramāṇamaikōpi bhavētsāhasēṣhu viśēṣataḥ.

Challenging witnesses.—Witnesses may be challenged as jurors are challenged now and this must be done before the examination of witnesses is commenced. When a witness is challenged, he should be asked if he admits the imputation made against him. If he denies, the challenging party must prove the imputation on pain of being fined. If all the witnesses of a party are discredited, he must prove his case by some other means already indicated in the plaint or answer. Challenging is not allowed after the examination of witnesses is commenced.¹

Swearing witnesses.—The witness to be examined should be made to stand facing the north or the east and sworn, the Brahmin on truth, the Kshatriya on his horse and weapons, the Vaisya on a cow or grain or gold and the Sûdra on the sin of telling lies. To swear a Brahmin on truth is to commend to him the virtue of truth-speaking. It will not perhaps be inappropriate to refer to some of the sentiments of the Smṛiti writers on this subject, now that we hear so much about the truthfulness or otherwise of the Hindus as a nation. Manu says that a witness who speaks truth is highly respected in this world and after death, attains higher life.

Merits of truth speaking.—As Brahmin is the highest of men, as the sun is the brightest of the luminary bodies and as the head is the most important part of the body, so is truth the greatest of virtues. Truth is a witness and truth supports justice. Therefore, every witness must speak the truth, whatever be his caste. Nârada says:—Truth is the greatest gift, the greatest form of tapas and the greatest of duties. On the whole, the Gods are truth and the men are untruth. Therefore, he who speaks the truth becomes a god on earth. There is no virtue greater than truth and no sin greater than untruth. Vyâsa adds the following testimony to the excellence of truth speaking when a witness is sworn to give evidence he is surrounded by the gods and by the spirits of ancestors (pitras) who are in anxiety as to whether he is going to speak truth or untruth. If he speaks the truth, they go to the higher world but if he tells lies, they go to the nether world. A witness should, therefore, speak truth otherwise he will sin against gods and ancestors. Nârada adds:—A liar says to himself “none sees me” but his lying is perceived by the gods and by his own inner self. Self is the witness of self as well as the refuge of self. Do not, therefore

1. Sâkshinôrdhi samuddishṭân satsu dôshêshu dûshayêt
adushṭam dûshayêt vâdi tatsamam danḍa marhati.

Brhaspati.

Sâkshinô dûshanam kâryam Pârva sâkshi parisanat
suddheshu sâkshishu tateh pascat kâryam visôdhayêt.

Brhaspati.

degrade thy self by speaking untruth. The earth, the sky, the water, the sun, the moon, the fire, the air, Yama, the day, the night, the twilight and the law, all know the mind of man and cannot be duped. The Smritis also visit untruth with severe penalties in births to come.¹

A Sûdra witness should be extorted to speak the truth by means of an enumeration of the evil consequences of telling lies. He should be told, for instance, that a liar goes to the same place as a murderer of Brahmins, children or women, an ungrateful man or a

1. Satyam sâkshyê bruven sâkshi Lokânâpnôti pushkalân
 iha ca nuttamam kirtim vagêsa brahma pûjita
 Brâhmaṇo vâ manushyânâm âdiṭyâs tējasāmiva
 sîrô vâ sarva gâtrânâm dharmâpēm satyam uttamam.
 Satyēna pûjyatē sâkshi dharmas satyēna vardhatē
 tasmât satyam hi vaktavyam sarva varṇēsu sakshibhih.

Manu.

Satyam ēva param dānam satyam ēva param tapah
 satyam ēva param dharmo lōkanām iti srtih.
 Satyam dēvas samāsēna manusyâs tvanrtam vidub
 ihaiva tsaya dēvatvam yasya satyē sthitâ matih.
 nâsti satyât parô dharmô nânrtât pâtakam param
 sâkshidharma visēsēna satyam ēva vadēt tatah.

Nârada.

Sâkshibhâvê niyuktânām devatâ niyatâ sthitah
 pitaras ca avalambantē vitadhakhyâna śankayâ
 satya vakyair vrajantârdhvam adhō yânt yanyadhâ tu tē
 tasmât satyam pravaktavyam bhavadbhis sabhya sannidhau

Vyâsa.

Atmaiva hyâtmanâ sâkshi gatir âtmâ tadhâtmanah
 mâvamam sthastvam âtmānam nṛnām sâkshityam uttamam
 manyantē vai pâpa kṛtto na kascit pasyatîti nah
 tams tu ēvah prapasyanti svasyaiv ântarapûrushah

Nârada.

Brahmaghnē yē smṛtâ lōkâh yē ca strî bāla ghâtinah
 Mitradrôbah kṛtaghnasya tē tē syur vâdatô mrsha.
 Janma prabhṛti yat kincit punyam bhadra tvayâ kṛtam
 tat te sarvam sunô gachchêt yadi brâyaṣ tvam anyadhâ

Manu.

man who is false to his friend, that by speaking untruth, a man is deprived of what little virtue (*Dharma*) he may have acquired since his birth and so on.

The form of oath seems to have been prescribed with reference to what was then understood to be the mental development of the different classes of witnesses, so that they might all understand and realize their responsibility in the matter.

A witness who fails to attend the Court without sufficient reason as well as a witness who attends but refuses to give evidence are liable to be fined ¹ or even to be imprisoned.

Perjury to be punished :—Perjury (*Kūṭarākshyam*) is visited with punishment varying with the motive which prompted it. As justice must be preserved and injustice put down at all costs, untruthful witnesses may even be punished—the Brahmin witnesses from their houses and the non-brahmin witnesses from the country. ²

Demeanour of witnesses :—The Judges are enjoined to note the demeanour of witnesses while under examination. A false witness's mind is not at ease. He talks loud and too much and sometimes answers without being questioned. He breathes hard, his forehead perspires and his countenance changes colour. His looks wander and he makes an unnecessary show of gestures etc. ³ Such a person should be known to be a false witness.

1. Sākshi sākshyam na cēd brūyāt samandam vahēd ṛṇam
atō nyēshu vādēshu triśatam dandam arhati
Ahūto yas tu nagaśchchēd sākshi rōgavivarjitah
Ṛṇam daman ca dāpyasyāt triparsakat paratas tu sah.

2. Dharmasya vyabhicārārdham adharma nidhanāyacā
Kūṭa sākshyam tu kurvāṇam strīn varṇān dhārmiko nṛpah
pravāsayēd dandayitva brāhmaṇan tu vicāsayēt.

Yājñavalkya.

3. Yas tvēṣṭma dōṣha dushṭatvīd asvestha iva lakshyate
sthānt sabbhāntaram gacchēd ēkaikam cā nudhāvati
Krōṣatyardhmā ca bahulam abhikṣnam nissvāsatyapi
vilikhatyavanīm padbhyām bahu vasēs ca dhunayēt.
bhidyatē mukha varṇas ca lalāṣtam svidyātē tathā
Sōṣha māgachchatas cōṣṭau pyūrdhvam tiryak navikshatē.
tvāra māna ihātyardham aprṣṭau bahu bhāṣhatē
kūṭasākshi sa vijñēyas, tam pāpam vinayēd bhṛṣam.

Nārada.

Documentary evidence:— Documents are either private (*Laukika*) or public (*Rājakṛtya*). Private documents are divided into seven classes, Viz:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Bhāgalēkhyam</i> | Partition deed. |
| 2. <i>Dānalēkhyam</i> | or deed of gift of land |
| 3. <i>Krayalēkhyam</i> | or sale deed. |
| 4. <i>Adhilēkhyam</i> | (mortgage deed) |
| 5. <i>Samvitpatram</i> | i. e. an agreement or compact entered into by all the inhabitants of a village or a part of country. |
| 6. <i>Dāsapatram</i> | (contract to serve) |
| and 7. <i>Ṛṇalēkhyam</i> | or bond. ¹ |

1. Laukikam rājakṛtyam ca lēkhyam vidyād vilakṣhanam
 Bhrātaraś samvibhaktā yē svaruchyatu paraspāram
 vibhāga lēkhyam kurvanti bhāga lēkhyam tad ucyatē.
 Bhūmim datvā tu yat patram kuryācchchandrarāka kālīkam
 anabhēdya manśhāryam dānalēkhyam ca tad vidub.
 Gṛha kṣhetrādīkam kṛtvā tulya mālākṣharānvitam,
 patram kārayatē yat tu krayalēkhyam tad ucyatē.
 Jangama sthāvaram bandham datvā lēkhyam karōti yat
 gōpya bhōgya kriyā yuktam nadhi lēkhyam tad ucyatē.
 Grāmō dēśas ca yat kuryān matam lēkhyam paraspāram
 rājā virōdhi dharmartham samvit patram vadanti tat.
 Vastrāṇa hīnaś kūtārēlikhitam kurutē tu yat
 karmāni tē karōmī ti dīśa patram tad ucyatē.
 Dhanam gṛhītvā vṛdhyaṇ tu svayam kuryacca kārayēt
 yadājñāna patram tatrōktam ṛṇa lēkhyam manśhibhiḥ.

Brhaspati.

Kālam nivēśya rājānam sthānam nivesanam tathā
 dāyakam gṛhakam caiva pitṛ nāmnaś ca samyutam.
 Jātis ca gōtra sākṣhās ca dravyam adhim sa sankhyakam
 vṛddhi grāhaka hastam ca veditārthau ca sākṣhinau.

Vasishttha.

Vina pi sākṣhibhir lēkhyam sva hasta likhitam tu yat
 tat pramāṇam sṛtam sarvam balādadhikṛtadhyatē.

Yājñavalkya.

Sthāvarē vikrayādhanē Vibhāgādya tathaiva ca
 likhitēna prayāt siddhim avisamvadaś sva ca.

Morici

Private documents should contain the names, fathers' names, the gôtras and sâkhas of the parties, the exact date including the current regnal year, a description of the subject matter of the transaction and the rate of interest, in the case of bonds etc; The documents should be signed by the executant and attested at least by two witnesses and also by the writer. All the signatures should contain the names of the father of the signatories. Where a document is written by the executant himself, witnesses are not necessary. Documentary evidence is necessary in the case of transactions relating to immovable properties such as sales, mortgages and partitions. **Public documents** are of three kinds viz :—Sâsanams or grants of lands etc. to scholars, temples etc. 2. *Prasâdapatram* grant of jaghirs for military service and 3. *Jayapatrams* or judgments. Sâsanams are generally engraved on copper plates according to the formula given. Judgments will be described in their proper place later on. A fourth class of public documents, is also mentioned—namely orders issued by the King, orders issued to Governors or tributary princes called *Ajnâpatra* (commandments) and those addressed to Gurus, priests and Ritwike *Prâjnâpanapatra* (reminders).

Forged documents:—Forged documents should be detached and rejected. Documents containing obvious interpolations, as well as those whose wording is self-inconsistent, ambiguous, or irregular and those which are inconsistent within local customs should be suspected to be forged. Again documents which purport to be old but are in a fresh condition and *vice versa* and mutilated documents should not be acted upon.¹

Invalid documents:—Documents executed by persons who are intent on committing suicide, by children, persons in fear or distress by women, drunken persons and persons strongly addicted to other grave vices and documents extorted by force or show of force, are invalid. The signatures of the executant, attesting witnesses and the writer are the chief means of judging the genuineness of a document.

Comparison of hand-writing:—When these persons are dead, their handwriting may be proved by comparison with that of other documents which are admittedly in their hand writing.

Documents more than 20 years old:—Documents more than 20 years old may be admitted even if the signatories to it are all dead,

1. Sthâna bhrashtas sapanktishtâ sandigdâ lakshanacyutah
yadâ samethâpitâ varṇah kûtalêkhyam tadâ bhavêt.
desâcâra virudham yat sandigdham kramavarjitam
kṛtam asvâminâ yacca sâdhya hitam ca dâshyati.
Yacca kâkapadâ kirṇam talêkhyam kûtatamiyât.

Kâtyâyana.

provided that they have been seen or heard of whenever there was an occasion for it, during this period. Old documents which have not been previously produced in Court when there was an occasion for their production and are produced for the first time after lapse of more than 20 years from the date of their alleged execution, should be rejected¹.

When a bond etc. is discharged, the debtor should endorse payment on the back of the document and the creditor should give him a signed receipt. (*Upagatam*)²

Enjoyment of land and limitation:—The subject of enjoyment of the immovable property and the period of limitation in suits concerning it is a branch of the substantive law and not of procedure. But as the Smṛiti writers have treated of it under the head of proof or evidence I will refer to it here briefly.

Title and enjoyment necessary ordinarily:—To sustain a claim for immovable property both title (*agama*) and enjoyment (*Bhukti*) must be proved, ordinarily. Title is like the trunk of a tree and enjoyment, the branches. As the branches cannot grow without the trunk, so enjoyment must be based on title

Atyujjvalam cirākṛtam malinam svalpakālikam
Bhagnōnmuṣṭākshara yutam lēkhyam kūtatvam āpnuyāt.

Brhaspati.

Vividhās sasa lēkhāsya bhrāntis sanjāyatē yadvā
ṛpi sākshi lēkhakānam hastātsameśdayēt tathā.

Brhaspati.

Adha pañcatvamāpnōti lēkhakas saha sākshbhih
tat sahaṣṭabhis tēshām visudhyēta na samsayah.
Rpa svahastam sandēho jīvātōvā mṛtasya ca
tat svahastam kṛtai rajnyaih patirair lēkhya vinirnayah

Kātyāyana.

1. Yatra ṛpi dhanikō vāpi sākshīva lēkhakōpi vā
mriyatē tatra tallēkhyam tat svahastaih prasādayēt.

Vishnu.

Darsitam pratikālam ya chehrāvitam smaritam tathā
lēkhyam siddhyati sarvatra mritēshyapihi sākshishu.

Nārada.

2. Lēkhasya prsthē vilikhāt yadvā tad ṛpko dhanam
dhanikōpagatam dadyāt svahasta paricīhṇitam

Yājñavalkya.

*Na mālena Vinā sākṣā antarikṣhē prarōhati |
āyamastu bhavēn mālām bhuktis sākṣā prakīrtita ||*

Harita.

Five things must be proved to sustain valid enjoyment. viz:— That it is based on legal title and that it is long (*Dirghakāla*), undisputed (*Nirākrośa*) uninterrupted (*Niromtara*) and known to the opposite party (*Pratyardhi sannidhāna*) This is the general rule, Where there is a legal title, enjoyment even for a short period is enough but title alone without enjoyment does not avail. On the other hand, uninterrupted enjoyment confers title provided it is at least three generations long. A generation is taken to be equivalent to 20 years but some writers make it 30 and some 35 years long ¹. The principle is that enjoyment from time immemorial (*Asmārtakāle*) is a valid title by itself:—otherwise it has to be supported by proof of legal title.

The period of limitation in the case of easements and mesne profits from lands in dispute is 20 years ² and it is 50 years against Brahmachāris engaged in study—who are required to devote 12 years to the study of each of the four Vedas and the connected Sastras. There is no limitation in the case of possession obtained by fraud or crime and none against the king, children (minors), woman and pious men engaged in the performance of Vedic rites *Srōtriya*. So also there is no limitation in the case of treasure trove and boundary disputes and none in regard to property enjoyed under a mortgage. Five years is

1. Sāgamō dirgha kālas ca nirākrośō nirantarāh
pratyardhi sannidhānas ca bhuktō bhōgah pramāṇavat.

Sukranītisāra.

Bhuktis tri puruṣṣi yatra puruṣṣē strībhir ēva tam
tatra naiva gamah kāryō bhuktis tatra garīyasi.

Kātyāyana.

smārtē kāle kriyā bhūmē sāgamā bhuktir īsyatē
asmārtānugamābhavāt kramāt tripuruṣṣagatā

Kātyāyana.

2. Adhyāsanāt samārabhya bhuktir yasya vighātini
samāvimsatyavadhikā tasya tam na vicārayēt.

Prajāpati.

Tad ētad asēdham akurvātām phala hāni viśhayam natu bhū hāni
viśhayam.

Mādhava.

the period of limitation in the case of movable property such as cows, horses and jewels.¹ There is no limitation in regard to enjoyment with the owner's consent.² Proof of enjoyment of a portion only of a holding is proof of the enjoyment of the entire holding. Enjoyment of land should be proved by the evidence of the cultivator, the village headman, the farmer of revenue or the Zamindar, the evidence of the earlier being always stronger than that of the later.

Decision:—Omitting the description of ordeals, we shall now proceed to the concluding part of *Vyavahāra* viz:—*Nirnaya* or the decision. Disposal may be by *Dharma*, *Vyavahāra*, *Charitram*, *Rājājna*. Disposal by *dharma* is where the defendant admits the claim or the accused confesses the crime, but false confessions should be guarded against. *Vyavahāra* is regular trial according to law. *Charitram* is the technical term for custom—local, tribal or family. Where such a custom exists and is not opposed to the fundamental principles of law and public policy, it overrides the law. For instance, in southern India the marriage of a man with his maternal uncle's daughter is good according to custom though it is not good in law. Again, custom allows marriage of Brahmin girls after puberty in Kērala. Customs such as these must be enforced though they are not authorized by law.

Where it is not possible to dispose of a case in any of these ways the King should decide it according to his own good conscience, provided that he does not act contrary to the advice of the *prādvivāka* and the *Sabhyas* and contrary to law.

Judgment:—To the successful party the King should give a judgment (*Jayapatram*) under his signature and seal. According to

1. Adhis sēma baladhānam nikshēpō sa nidhi scriyah
rājasvam srōtriyam dravyam nō pa bhōgēna nasyati

Manu.

Srōtriya grahana manāsaktaupalakshanam.

Mādhava.

Pañcāsattādikō bhōgah tadāpi nasyāpakārahah
prativedam avādasābdah kalo vidyārdhinam Smritah.
Silpa vidyārdhinām caiva grahanāntah prakīrtitah.

Kātyāyana.

Dhēnuryahyō lankaranam yācitsm prati pūrvakam
catuh pañcābdikam dēvam anyathā hānim āpnuyāt.

Kātyāyana.

2. Sampritya bhōjyamānāni na nasyanti kadāçana.

Manu.

Vasishtha, the Judgment should bear the signatures of the *prādvivāka* and the *Sabhyas* and the King's seal. It should state concisely the case for the plaintiff, the defence, the evidence adduced, the decision and the law on which the decision is based.

Substantial justice preferred to law:—Doing substantial justice (*Dharma*) is more important than administering law and some of the Smritis give the Courts liberty to deviate from the strict letter of the law where necessary for that purpose. For instance, *Yāgnavalkya* says that where the claim of a plaintiff is made up of parts and the defendant denies the entire claim, he is liable to pay the entire claim provided any portion of it is proved against him. *Kātyāyana* lays down, on the other hand, that only so much of the claim should be decreed as is proved. *Mādhavāchārya* understands this rule to apply to cases in which a debtor's son pleads ignorance of his father's liabilities sought to be proved against him. Reading these two provisions together, it seems that the intention of the Smriti writers was that, although ordinarily a plaintiff should get no more than he establishes his title to, by strict evidence, he may get a decree for the entire claim though only a portion of it is proved according to law, if there are circumstances which raise a presumption that the whole claim is true.

Execution of decrees:—Decrees passed against Brahmins should be executed in a conciliatory spirit, while those against others should be executed according to custom. Offending judgment-debtors are liable to be punished.

Court fees and penalties:—In addition to the decree amount, both parties are liable to pay fees to the Court, the successful party by way of fees (*Bhṛti*) and the unsuccessful one by way of penalty (*Dandam*). The fee payable by a successful party is 5 % of the decree amount which he realizes. The same is the rate of penalty to be paid by a Judgment debtor in an uncontested case. In contested cases the rate is doubled. It would seem that no penalty was levied if the Judgment debtor was poor and unable to pay.

A man who makes a false claim is liable to pay a penalty equal to double the amount of his claim. When a party is unable to pay money, he may satisfy the claim by rendering service.

LITERARY GLEANINGS

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sometimes a broken line, a fragment of a quotation, mere mention of an author, or a humourous pun on a significant word, may furnish curious clues to the determination of the date of authors or at least of their priority in relation to others. Such scraps of information as are gathered in the course of our researches will be given in the following pages which may be of some use to critics and scholars. The remarks that accompany them do not pretend to finally determine the issues but they must be treated as mere suggestions to be read along with other information that scholars may otherwise possess.

1. RUYYAKA

Some scholars are of opinion that Ruchaka whose name we meet in Alankara literature is not Ruyyaka and that the author of the *Alankara-Sarvasva* is only Ruyyaka and not Ruchaka. Ruchaka in *Prakrit* form may become रुञ्क which degrades into Ruyaka and then into Ruyyaka. Similarly we are inclined to believe that ढा in Mammata, Lollata etc., must have been a phonetic degradation for Bhaṭṭa and the words must have read once as Mamma-Bhaṭṭa and Lolla-Bhaṭṭa etc. भ in *Prakrit* tongues is changed into ह and the aspiration disappears in course of time. The change would be something like this:—मम्मभट्ट—मम्महट्ट— मम्मट्ट— मम्मट

It may be objected that forms like Mammata Bhaṭṭa, Lollata Bhaṭṭa may be wrong, for the name Bhaṭṭa occurs twice; but when Bhaṭṭa becomes an inflexion and loses its significance another significant epithet is generally added in the Indian languages. In Telugu we meet with names like *Sūramāmba* and *Venkayārya* where *ama* and *aya* are derivatives of *ambā* and *ārya*. Similarly Bhaṭṭa Lollata may not be a wrong form.

Mere phonetic derivation of the form of the word Ruchaka may not appeal to critics. A commentator on the *Alankāra-Sarvasva* says:—

रुचकाचार्योपज्ञस्येयमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे ।

सङ्गीतनीति टीका श्रीविद्याचक्रवर्तिना क्रियते ॥

again at the end of the work,

शब्दस्यासौ विमविषयो दुर्घटार्थव्यवस्था-

व्यास्यव्यासिप्रकटनपटुन्यायचर्चागमीरः ।

इत्थं भूम्ना रुचकवचसां विस्तरः कर्कशोऽयं

टीकास्माभिः समुपरचिता तेन सञ्जीवनीयम् ॥

Rāghavabhaṭṭa uses the word राजानक रुचक in his commentary on Sakuntala (Vide page 58 line 2).

Thus it is surmised that Ruchaka must be the grammatical and Ruyyaka the colloquial form.

2. KSHIRASVAMIN

One of the commentaries on the Amarakośa is ascribed to this author and Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his preface to the edition of Daiva suggests that its author (Deva) might have lived after Kshīrasvāmin, who was identified with Kshīra attached to the court of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. There is a work called the Nipātāvyaya-vṛtti whose author is Kshīrasvāmin otherwise called Svētavanavāsin, a native of Uttarameru village. The same information is given by Kshīrasvāmin who commented on the Unādi sūtras. Most probably this author on grammar may be identified with the commentator on the Amarakośa where he exhibits much erudition in grammar. In his commentary on the Amara¹ he quotes from Bhōja who lived between 998 and 1062 A.D., and in turn quoted by Krishnalīlāsuka who lived earlier than 1300 A.D.

Uttaramēru, the village mentioned by Kshīrasvāmin, is found in several inscriptions and is unanimously identified with Uttaramallur or Uttaramēru a village 20 miles from Chingleput near Madras; a few miles near it flows the river Pālār which rendered into Sanskrit may mean Kshīratarangīṇ which is the name given by the author to his own commentary. He is otherwise called Svētavanavāsin the significance of which cannot be traced now. The places called Svētavana are known in the South Arcot, Tanjore and Malabar Districts. The fact that he lived after Bhōja stands against his identity with Kshīra of Jayāpīḍa's court.

1. Some writers on history relying on antiquated research still persist in the identification of Kshīra with the preceptor of Jayāpīḍa with Kshīrasvāmin, the commentator of the Amarakośa. The latter quotes from Bhōja's Ṣṅgāraprakāśa of 1050 and hence the identity is not tenable.

In a drama called the *Abhinavarâghava* quoted in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* by Rāmachandra, a pupil of Hēmachandra, Sthāpaka says—

आर्यं चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्येव राघवमहीनकथा पवितं

काव्यं प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिम्नः ।

भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य

क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Rāmachandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचिते ऽभिनवराघवे.

A question may arise whether this Kshirasvāmin is the same as the grammarian mentioned. We know that Bhaṭṭendurāja was a Kashmirian and tutor to Abhinavagupta and brother of Hēlaraja, who commented on the well-known grammatical work of Bhartṛhari. Bhaṭṭendurāja was a great grammarian and poet. Whether Kshirasvāmin, the pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja, was a native of Kashmir or a southerner is not known and if he is identified with the commentator of Amarakôṣa, how could he, being a pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja who lived in 1000 A. D., quote from Bhôja's work which must have been written a few decades later? Śāradātanaya, author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* says that he was a native of a village Mātharapūjya near Merūttara in Aryāvarta where there were a thousand brahmin houses.

आर्यावर्त्ताह्वये देशे स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।

मेरूत्तर इति ख्यातस्तस्य दक्षिणभागतः ।

ग्रामो माठरपूज्यारव्यो द्विजसाहस्रसंमितः ॥

These two names Uttaramēru and Merūttara will throw further confusion regarding their identity. Merūttara, it may be suggested, is the modern Meerut in Hindustan, i. e., Aryāvarta. I remember to have met with a quotation, which I am now unable to trace out, where Merūttara was spoken as a town in Kashmir itself. If that is true and if Kshirasvāmin uses Uttaramēru as a synonym for Merūttara he might be taken as a Kashmirian and pupil of Bhaṭṭendurāja and it may be held that he might have written his commentary on Amara in his later life when Bhôja's *Ashtādhyāyī* and the first part of *Śrngâraprakāśa*, where he deals with grammar *in extenso* were published. But if the identity of the two towns with Meerut is held, he must have been a native of Meerut and might have even then studied in Kashmir. But lastly if Uttaramēru is not Merūttara then Kshirasvāmin being a native of the south might still have gone to Kashmir and studied under

the illustrious author. Though truth cannot be ascertained these references throw a flood of light on the history of Kṣhtrasyāmin and may serve as inducement for further investigation.

3. JAYAMANGALA

A number of commentaries under this name are attributed in their colophons to one Śāṅkara and it reads in different works and in different copies in various forms as शङ्करविरचिते, शङ्करार्यविरचिते शङ्कराचार्यविरचिते, शङ्करभगवत्पादविरचिते गोविन्दभगवत्पादशिष्य भगवच्छङ्कराचार्य विरचिते, शङ्करपरिव्राट्टिरचिते etc.,

These colophons do not lead us to a definite conclusion as to the real identity of the author.

The commentary on the Bhaṭṭikāvya is called Jayamangalā and it is far inferior to that of Mallhnātha and its author known in various manuscript copies by various names, one of which is Śāṅkara, does not show much erudition. Jayamangalā on Sāṅkhyasaptati is very meagre and decidedly inferior to the commentary of Gauḍapāda or even of Vāchaspatimīśra on the same work. In the colophon, the commentator's name is found as Śāṅkarāchārya. The Jayamangalā on the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana is now finally attributed to Śāṅkara and Yaśōdhara was only a scribe after all. In the commentary the author displays deep learning in various branches of knowledge. Jayamangalā on Kāmandaka is of greater merit and the author shows his intimate acquaintance with a number of works on Arthasāstra which are now extinct. Jayamangalā on Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra is a more learned work and is indeed the best of the four available commentaries on it. There are strikingly common passages in the Jayamangalās on Kāmandaka and the Arthasāstra and that is not curious as the subject and the particular passages to be commented upon are the same.

Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri, hesitating, to assign Jayamangalā on Kāmandaka to Śāṅkarāchārya, calls Śāṅkara as Śāṅkaravārya which is not warranted by the colophons in any of the manuscripts that we have so far examined. All these Jayamangalās are extensively read and found in Malabar. To relieve the anxiety of some critics that the great Āchārya should not be associated with the authorship of these commentaries under the same name we have to search for another Śāṅkarāchārya in Malabar who, besides being an author, must be a pupil of Gōvindabhagavatpāda. We shall try to find one to answer our purpose.

In the commentary on Vātsyāyana one of the quotations¹ is traced to Ratirahasya of Kokkā who belongs to the tenth century

1. "रक्तजाः कृमयः सूक्ष्माः....यथाबलम्" (II. 1 Kama Sutra)

and in my opinion later than Śākyabhikṣu, the author of Nāgarasāra-vasva. Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana may therefore be assigned to some period later than 1000 A.D.

There is a commentary called Yôgabhāshyavivarana on Vyāsa-bhāshya of Pātañjala-Yôgadarśana and it was written by one Śankarāchārya, a pupil of Gôvindabhagavān and in one of the colophons the commentary is called Bhagavatpādīya. One is tempted to suggest that this Śankara might have been the author of so many Jayamangalās. We have very recently come across a commentary on Śābarabhāshya called Bhāshyapradīpa ascribed to the authorship of Śankarāchārya. At the end of one of the colophons to close the line the scribe wrote Payyur-Bhagavatpāda-virachitam—of course the manuscript once belonged to the well-known Payyur Patteri of Malabar who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D., or even later. Hence the Bhāshyapradīpa must be ascribed to one Śankarāchārya belonging to the family of Payyur. The Yôgabhāshyavivarana exhibits deep learning in all the darśanas and judging from the style and mode of the commenting it appears to be the production of the author of the Bhāshyapradīpa. To support this identity an instance may be adduced.

There was a great scholar in Payyur family called Rshi and his son Paramēśvara was known as Mimāṃsakachakravartin, whose names are respectfully mentioned in Kokilasandēśa¹ and Mallikā māruta² by Uddanda. Paramēśvara wrote commentaries on several Mimāṃsā works as Kāśikā, Maṇḍana's Sphōtasiddhi, Śābarabhāshya, Nyāyakanikā, Tattvabindu etc. Under the 27th sloka in the Sphōta-siddhi Maṇḍanamīśra quotes a few slokas (712-717) from Slokavārtika of Kumārila and Paramēśvara in interpreting them according to the older reading changes the main line of argument. He says with reference to the 713th sloka.

तत्पूर्वं प्रतिपादनादिति पाठो रत्नाकर काशिकयोः । निबन्धनकारेण तु पूर्वं तत्प्रति-
पादनादिति पाठो ऽङ्गीकृतः । गवादेः पूर्वं गकारादेः प्रतिपादनादित्यर्थः व्याप्तिस्तु यत्पूर्वं
यत्प्रतिपाद्यते तत्तस्यप्रतिपादकम्¹ यथा प्रदीपारोहणं प्रतिपाद्यस्य घटस्येति पूर्ववद् द्रष्टव्या ।

Maṇḍanamīśra reads पूर्वं तत्प्रतिपादनात् in his vritti on the 27th sloka. Even Umbēka in his commentary on Slokavārtika follows the same reading. Later on owing to some difficulty in maintaining the Mimāṃsaka's position against Bhartṛhari a different reading was probably adopted.

Paramēśvara's commentary in maintaining the Sphōta here tacitly agrees with the view taken in Yôgabhāshyavivarana where the

1. तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सच्च पुरयं महर्षेः

2. उक्तं च मीमांसकचक्रवर्तिना ऋषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरेण

existence of ; Sphoṭa seems to have been maintained, while great Śankara in his Śātrākabhāṣya in the Dēvatādhikaraṇa rejects it. The similarity of discussion ensures the belief that Paramēśvara must have been directly inspired by the views of his uncle or preceptor, Śankarāchārya, as expressed in Yōgavivarāṇa and who was also his tutor. In the Yogabhashyavivarāṇa (Vide page 241 in the Ms. in G. O. Mss. Library, Madras) the same verses were commented upon and the readings are suggested as given by Maṇḍana in favour of sphoṭa. For example Sankara suggests in it—तस्मादयमपि श्लोक एवं पठितव्यः—
 “प्रतिषेधेत यः स्फोटं वर्णधीरमनन्तरम् । दृष्ट्वाधो भवेत्तस्य शशिचन्द्रनिषेधवत् । वर्णार्था
 वर्णधरेषा तज्ज्ञानान्तरोद्भवत् ” Paramēśvara works upon this suggestion in his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

Paramēśvara commented on the Nyāyakanikā and a colophon reads as follows:—

इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दनश्रीमद्भवदासपितृव्य श्रीमच्छङ्करगूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ
 स्वदितंकरण्यां तृतीयः श्लोकः ।

and at another place,

कालप्रत्यक्षतावादमेवं व्याख्येयदृष्टेस्तुतः ।

भवदासपितृव्यस्य प्रसादादेव केवलात् ॥

कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन शङ्करे ।

अन्यथारव्यातिभावेऽपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यतः ॥

This shows that Śankara must have been one of Paramēśvara's relatives and his tutor. For, in a work called Śivodaya the author Vāsudēva, one of the eight brothers of Paramēśvara, describes his family and mentions Śankara as one of his uncles. Payyur family, though well learned in the Vedānta devoted themselves to the resuscitation of Mimāṃsā. Almost every work of both Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools was commented upon by the members of this family. Nārāyaṇa, one of his brothers, commented on the Bhāvanāvivēka and Vibhramavivēka of Maṇḍana. Paramēśvara probably hints at the suggestion that Payyur family descended from Maṇḍanamisra or his pupil in the following words at the end of his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नशः ।

तद्वंश्येन मयाऽप्येषा रचिताराध्यदेवताम् ॥

He commented on the Tattvabindu also. His grandson commented on the Nititattvavirbhāva of Chidānanda. His cousin Nārāyaṇa commented

on *Nayatattvasaṅgraha*, a work of Viṣṇu, who also belonged to the same family. Bhavadāsa, his uncle, wrote a number of commentaries on the *Kalpasūtra* works.

Thus Bhāṣyapradīpa and Yōgabhāṣyavivarana are decidedly the compositions of one and the same Sankarācharya, who, as said by Vāsudēva, was the pupil of Gōvinda-Bhagavatpāda. We are inclined to think that all the Jayamangalās must have been the productions of this Śankara.

In writing this essay we are at a great disadvantage in not having in our possession here the manuscripts of the works or the printed works referred to and hence the actual passages or even the page-reference could not be given.

4. VINDHYAVASIN

Vindhyavāsin is one of the few great writers whose works are not still available anywhere. There are several references in Sanskrit to his views in some of the leading works on *Mīmāṃsa*, Grammar, *Alankāra*, *Yoga* etc.,. Several critics made good attempts at his identification with any known author or to locate his position in the chronology of literature. Even Western and Japanese critics have thrown to light some matter leading to his identity. There are some critics, among whom the editors of *Māthara-vṛitti* may be mentoned with honour, who consider that Vindhyavāsin is only an appellation given to Vyādi, the author of *Saṅgraha* on grammar mentioned by Patanjali (1-1-64). Lexicographers like Kēśava, Hēmachandra etc., give Vyādi and Vindhyavāsin as synonyms. Further light on this identity has been thrown by a passage quoted under Vyādi and Vindhyavāsin by Umbēka *alias* Bhavabhūti in his commentary on *Ślōkavārtika*. Dr. Keith in his *Sāṅkhya system* identifies Vindhyavāsin with Isvarakṛiṣṇa the author of *Sāṅkhya Kārikās* and again in his *Karma Mimamsa* he considers that Vindhyavāsa is different from Vindhyavāsin on the supposition that one is a *Mīmāṃsaka* and the other a *Sāṅkhya*. An attempt is made in the following lines to establish that Vyādi and Vindhyavāsin refer to the same author, that the two names Vindhyavāsa and Vindhyavāsin are mere synonyms and lastly that Vindhyavāsin and Isvarakṛiṣṇa must be two different persons.

1. Vindhyavāsin is the same as Vindhyavāsa, for when Kumārila says,

तेन नात्यन्तमिन्नोऽर्थः सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम् ।

ग्रन्थे विन्ध्यनिवासेन भ्रान्तैः सादृश्यमुच्यते ॥

(*Ślōkavārtika-Akṛtīvāda*)

Umbēka the commentator remarks:—

किंच विन्ध्यवासिनोऽपि पिण्डसारूप्यमपि सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्रायः

and thus uses Vindhyavâsin as a synonym of Vindhyanivâsa found in the original of Kumârla.

Secondly Kumârla has

अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना

while Medhâtithi in his commentary on Manusmṛti I-55 referring to the same doctrine of the rejection of an intermediary body between death and re-birth says:—

सांख्या अपि केचिन्नान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतयः

Thus Kumârla and Medhâtithi mean that the two names refer to the same person.

2. Identification of Iśvarakṛishṇa with Vindhyavâsin by Dr. Keith is based on Takakusu's identity of Vārshaganya. This has not been accepted by the Sanskrit scholars. In addition to their arguments one quotation from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra will suffice to dispel the illusion of the learned Doctor

अक्षपादो युगपज्ज्ञानानुत्पत्तिर्नसो लिङ्गमिति । मनसस्तिविधोभाव इति । वैशेषिका दिदृशि मनस्संयोगजो य आत्मन इच्छाद्वेषमाध्यस्थलक्षणो स मनस इत्युक्तः । कापिलदृशि तु विन्ध्यवासिनो मनस एव । ईश्वरकृष्णादिमते मनः शब्देनाव बुद्धिप्रहादनेन श्रोतस्येत्यादिकं विषयग्रहणक्रियावन्तीष्टविषयत्वे मिश्रयितव्यम् । (XXII-32).

Here Iśvarakṛishṇa holds a different conception of *manas* from that of Vindhyavâsin. An examination of Sāṅkhya Kārikas reveals that its author must have lived later than Vindhyavâsin.

3. Regarding the important identity of Vindhyavâsin with Vyādi further evidence is adduced by Umbēka who gives out the following introduction to Kumârla's verse—

सारूप्यमेव पिण्डानां सामान्यं येन कल्प्यते ।

तेन सारूप्यशब्देन किं पुनः प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

अत्र व्याडिराह—पिण्डसारूप्यमेव सामान्यमिति । तत्रायं सामान्यशब्द एकपर्यायो वा स्यात् । यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोः समानधनमेकधनमित्यर्थः । सदृशपर्यायो वा । अस्ति च सदृशपर्यायः । यथा देवदत्तेन सह समानरूपः सदृशरूप इत्यर्थः । तदत्र किञ्चनोऽभिप्रेत इति परमतमनुभाष्य पृच्छति सारूप्यमिति

and again under Kumârla's verse—

व्यक्तितश्चातिरेकोऽस्य स्यान्न वेति विचारिते ।

सामान्यमेव सादृश्यं भवेद्वा व्यक्तिमात्रकम् ॥

Umbeka says—

किं च विन्ध्यवासिनो ऽ पि पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्रायः
सादृश्यरूपं सामान्यमिति । किं तु पिण्डरूपमिव सामान्यं न पिण्डव्यतिरिक्तमित्यभिप्रायः ।
अन्तैस्तु तदीयमभिप्रायमजानानैरन्यादृशमेव तद् व्याख्यातमित्याह—

तेन नात्यन्तभिन्नो ऽ र्थः सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम् ।

ग्रन्थे विन्ध्यनिवासेन अन्तैः सादृश्यमुच्यते ॥ इति

Thus Umbeka in his quotation “पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्य” मिति under two authors Vyāḍi and Vindhyavāsin establishes their identity beyond any doubt.

This identification of Vindhyavāsin with Vyāḍi has been rejected by some critics on the ground that the latter lived earlier than Patanjali and is known as a grammarian while the former, a writer on Sāṅkhya darśana, was an opponent to the Buddhist writer Buddhāmītra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. The Chinese annals of the Buddhist teachers are after all traditions as collected by some Chinese scholars who travelled through India and their statements before taken as authority must be corroborated by other evidence. Vindhyavāsin might have defeated some Buddhist writer of the name of Buddhāmītra who was identified with the teacher of Vasubandhu or there must be an error in giving the date of Vasubandhu himself.

Coming to the identity of Vyāḍi with Vindhyavāsin the nature of references may lead our way. Kumārila mentions the latter as a Vyaktivādin and discusses the meaning of the word *Sārūpya* as to its significance of sameness or similarity of form. This discussion comes under Ākṛtivāda (conception by species or commonness). Of course the term Ākṛti in Mīmāṃsā means what is called Jāti by grammarians. Wherever Vyāḍi is mentioned he is called a *vyaktivādin* who holds that *padārtha* denotes *dravya* taken in a particular sense. Patanjali, Bhartṛhari, and his commentator, all mention Vyāḍi's views in this connection. Helarāja, defining the broader denotation of the word *Dravya* introduces Bhartṛhari's verse—

आत्मा वस्तु स्वभावञ्च शरीरं तत्त्वमित्यपि ।

द्रव्यमित्यस्य पर्यायास्तच्च नित्यमिति स्फुटम् ॥

with the following remarks:—

वाजप्यायनदर्शनेन जातिं विशेषणभूतां पदार्थं व्यवस्थाप्य व्याडिदर्शने-
विशेष्यरूपं द्रव्यमपि पदार्थं व्यवस्थापयितुं यथादर्शनं तदेव पर्यायान्तरैरुद्दिशति आत्मेति
and then says

आकृतिद्वारेण चान्ये शब्दा द्रव्ये वर्तन्ते ॥

Bhōja in his *Srngaraprakāśa* (VI. P.) discussing the denotation of the three terms *Jāti*, *Akrti*, and *vyakti* as used by Gautama in his *Nyāya-Sūtras* mentions the theories of both *Vājapyāyana* and *Vyādi* for the maintenance of *Jāti-Vyakti* conceptions as given by *Patanjali* and *Helarāja*, and concludes it in the following words:—

आकृतिरेव पदार्थ इति विन्ध्यवासिमतगन्धीयाः ,

where the term *Akrti* means only *samsthāna* or the identical shape and not species or *Jāti* as *Mīmāṃsakas* used it. Bhōja explains the word *Akrti* from a quotation from *Nyāyamanjari*:—

तत्राकृतिपदेनेह संस्थानमभिधीयते ।

लोके शास्त्रे च दृष्टत्वान्न जातिर्जैमिनीयवत् ॥

Thus Bhoja when he mentions *Vindhyavāsin* means only *Vyādi* whose views he was discussing. Bhoja quotes the following verses under *Vyādyāh* on the same topic:—

यथा जलादिभिर्व्यक्तं द्रव्यमेवाभिधीयते ।

यथा द्रव्यैरभिव्यक्ता जातिरेवाभिधीयते ।

यथेन्द्रियगते भेद इन्द्रियग्रहणादते ।

इन्द्रियार्थेष्वदृश्ये ऽपि ज्ञानभेदाय कल्पते ॥

विनारूपग्रह..... व्यक्तयस्तथा ।

सामान्ये ज्ञानभेदानामुपयान्ति निमित्तताम् ॥ .

इति व्यक्तिरेव शब्दार्थ इति व्याहीयाः ।

Śalikanātha commenting upon *Akrti Sūtra* (I-3-33) says

अतो “व्यक्त्यभिधानी मन्यते ” (इति) व्याडिरिति निदर्शितम्

(the words in quotation are of *Prabhākara*) while the same *व्यक्तिवादी* is considered as *Vindhyavāsin* by *Kumārila* in his *Akrtivāda*.

Thus in conclusion *Vyādi* or *Vindhyavāsin* was a *Sāṅkhya* writer who flourished before *Patanjali*.

Since writing the above paragraphs *Dr. Bhattacharya's* article on *Vindhyavāsin* published in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1927, attracted my attention; where the Learned Doctor rejects the identity of *Vyādi* with *Vindhyavāsin* probably on the ground of chronology which I am disposed to think is dubious and questionable at every stage. The doctor gives the real name of *Vindhyavāsin* as *Rudrila*. Some of the great writers are known by more than one name. *Bhavabhūti* was called *Umbēka*, *Surēśvara* and *Viśvarūpa*, in different

stages of his activity. Vyādi and Vindhyaśāsin may appear to be nicknames of Rudrila. Vyādi, a ferocious elephant and Vindhyaśāsa, a resident of the Vindhya forest, may after all be applied Rudrila.

Regarding his date, he seems to have flourished in the second or third century before Christ. Dr. Bhaṭṭācārya also supposes that Isvaraśrīṣṇa lived later than Vindhyaśāsin. Māthara was according to Itsing a contemporary of Asvaghōṣa. Isvaraśrīṣṇa, whose work was commented on by Māthara, may be assigned to the first century of Christ. Is Isvaraśrīṣṇa the same as Jesus Christ? One is tempted to ask it if he reads "*The Unknown life of Jesus Christ*" which relates that Jesus learnt Sāṅkhya under a brahmin teacher at Jagannatha. Even Sūśruta follows Sāṅkhya doctrines and Vindhyaśāsin in his Sāṅkhya work must have discussed the denotation of Śabdārtha and his views were held in high respect by Patanjali, Bhartṛhari etc.,.

5. BHIKSHU

The commentators on *Slokavārtika* of Kumārila frequently refer to one Bhikṣhu as the opponent whose opinions Kumārila is considered to criticise. The identity of Bhikṣhu will go far towards the elucidation of certain problems in the history of the Nyāyadarśana. Kumbhakarṇa in his *Saṅgitarāja* frequently quotes from Bhikṣhu and Śākya-Bhikṣhu, and the quotations are now traced to Nāgarasarasva of Padmaśrī, a Buddhist monk. But Bhikṣhu of Kumārila appears to be Dharmakīrti, who defined *pratyakṣa pramāṇa* in the terms of

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्—

and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa criticises the definition and says:—

तस्माद्यत्कल्पनापोढपदं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ।

भित्तुणा पठितं तस्य व्यवच्छेद्यं न विद्यते ॥

अभ्रान्तपदस्यापि व्यावर्त्यं न किंचन तन्मतेन पश्यामः ।

इति सुनिपुणबुद्धिर्लक्षणं वक्तुकामः

पदयुगलमपीदं निर्ममे नानवद्यम् ।

भवतु मतिमहिम्नश्चेष्टितं दृष्टमेत-

जगदभिभवधीरं धीमतो धर्मकीर्तेः ॥

This Bhikṣhu seems to have written a work called *Bahyārtha-siddhi*. Two references to this work are traceable one in *Prakaraṇa-Pāṇchikā*:—

अप्रकाशात्मन एव प्रकाशः संभवतीति बाह्यार्थसिद्धानुक्तम् ।

The second is found in Jayamiśra's commentary on his father's *Slokavārtika*. In condemning अपोहवाद the *Purvapaksha* forming the opinion of Dharmakīrti is summarised thus :—

अथ तत्र साधकप्रत्ययेन मिथ्यात्वग्रहणादसत्यत्वमबाधितरूपे तु सत्यत्वमिति विवेको दृश्यते । तदस्मत्पक्षे ऽपि यत्र नेति प्रत्ययो अन्यतरं न भवति तत्र पारम्पर्येण प्रतिबन्धो ऽस्ति । यत्र तु भवति तत्र तु नेति गम्यते । यथोक्तमस्माभिर्बाह्यार्थसिद्धौ—

यथाविधं धटं दृष्ट्वा द्वैतवादी न चेष्टते ।

ज्ञात्वा ताथाविधं ज्ञानमद्वैतीकिं न चेष्टते ॥

तस्मादयमिति न दोषः । एतेन शब्दापोहो व्याख्यातः ।

And then Jayamiśra concludes it :—

इत्यन्यापोहशब्दार्थौ कल्पितौ शाक्यभिदुष्टा ।

गतानुगतिकैरन्यैः कष्टं तावदुवर्तितौ ॥

Bahyārthasiddhi may be a section of Dharmakīrti's work as it is customary that authors in those days named sections instead of works to facilitate reference.

Anyāpoha theory so ably propounded by Dharmakīrti was attacked by Bhāmaha who criticises also the definition of प्रत्यक्ष as given by Diṅnāga. In stating पूर्वपक्ष of Dharmakīrti स्फोट is mentioned as condemned by the Buddhist logician. Bhāmaha refers to Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti thus :—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततो ऽर्थादिति केचन ।

कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रतिजानते ॥ (Against Diṅnāga)

अन्यापोहेन शब्दार्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते ।

अन्यापोहस्य नामान्ययदार्थं विकृतिः किल ॥ (Against Dharmakīrti)

Diṅnāga's definition of *Pratyakṣa* given in his *Nyāyapraveśa* may be the aim of Bhāmaha's criticism :—

तत्र प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं यज्ज्ञानमर्थे रूपादौ नामजात्यादिकल्पनारहितं तदक्षमक्षं प्रतिवर्तते इति प्रत्यक्षम् ।

We have elsewhere stated that Rāmaśarman, a friend of Dandin and a poet, must have been the author of *Achhutōttara* referred to by

Bhāmaha who was an elder contemporary of Dandin. Maskarin, the commentator on Gautama Dharma Sutras calls himself the son of Bhāmaha at the end of his work:—

गौतमीयच्छलेनेदं सर्वस्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ।

क्रियते ऽद्य मया भाष्यं सूनुना भामहस्य तु ॥

This in conjunction with his attack on the two Buddhist logicians will surely discount the opinion that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist.

6. VIDYARANYA AS A WRITER ON MUSIC

It would be a surprise to scholars that Vidyāranya doubly bent upon the Darśanas especially Mimāṃsā and Vedānta should write on music. Of course his activities were multifarious, and in the midst of his ministerial duties it is really no wonder that an inspired genius as he worked also in the fine arts. King Raghunātha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for his composition of his Sangita-sudhā respectfully says:—

संगीतसारं समवेद्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

and again when analysing the *rāgas* has the following:—

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्पष्ट्यधिके शते द्वे ।

कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतः ॥

and closely follows the sage's method. In enumerating the *doṣhas* in tunes the same author says :

दोषांश्च तेषां प्रवदामि विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणोपदिष्टान् ।

again,

स्वरूपमेषामिह लक्षितानां संगीतसारे विशदीकृतं च

and still later on,

चतुर्विधैः श्रीचरणैर्निरुक्तं शारीरमेतत्प्रविभज्य सम्यक् ।

The work Sangitasāra was studied throughout South India and was amply quoted by name by Chikkadēvarāya of Mysore in his Bharata-sārasaṅgraha and by Nārāyaṇadeva of Parlākimiḍi in his Sangita-nārāyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *tānas* reads as follows:—

इत्येकाशीतिसंयुक्तं सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम् ।

तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णाः सह क्रमैः ॥

लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च ।

नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति ज्ञानोपायो ऽत्र कथ्यते ॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta.

There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called *Sangitasāra* which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintaining the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from *Aumāpata*, enumerates 264 ragas. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Vidyāranya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Vidyāranya's works.

7. 'AVANTISUNDARI' IN SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA

In the first edition of *Svapnavāsavadatta* on page 59 Vidūshaka says

मा दक्षि भवं अत्ताणं ओइसिअं कादुं । किन्तु इमस्सिं राजउठे अवन्तिसुन्दरी
गाम जक्खणी पडिक्सदि ॥

The word *Avantisundari* with its epithet *Yakshini* is curious and may signify, in the opinions of those critics who assign the present form of *Svapnavāsavadatta* to the Pallava Court, that it must refer to the heroine of Dandin's *Avantisundari-kathā*. In that work a series of stories unveiling their previous births are related and *Mandākinī* and *Tārāvalī* are described as *Yaksha* women who were born on the earth owing to some curse. Both *Rājavāhana* and *Avantisundari* appear to be *Yakshas* in their earlier births. Dandin seems to conclude his story with the completion of the curse with the incident that *Rājavāhana* was transformed into a lotus and was washed by the waves of the sea at the feet of God *Trivikrama* at *Māmallapura* where Dandin saw the lotus becoming a divine being at the touch of the God's feet when the curse was over.

Some of the dramas now ascribed to *Bhasa* seem to be adaptations for the stage in the times of the Pallavas and not in Malabar. '*Rājasimha*' at the end of some of the dramas may refer to *Rājasimha I*, or even *Simhavishnu* who was called *Rājasimha* in an alliterative attribute used by Dandin. Some critics fancy that the presence of Malayalam words in these dramas in the Prakrit portions assign their nativity to Malabar but on a closer examination they find to be Prakrit words imported into all the Dravidian tongues and not in Malayalam alone. Thus these words alone do not prove any forgery in Malabar. It must be said to the credit of Malabar copyists that they never tampered with the originals when they copied any work in whatever condition it was available. We shall speak of *Bhasa* again in our edition of *Sudraka's Vatsarājacharita* promised in the "*Dakshinabhārati*" Series,

8. SĀNKHYANĀYAKA MĀDHAVA

There is a reference to this Sāṅkhya writer in Umbeka's commentary on the *Slokavārtika* of Kumārila. As far as I can gather no other writer has mentioned his name. The context in which Umbeka (= Bhavabhūti) mentions him is as follows:—In the *Chodanā-Sūtra* Sabarasyāmin says

“अर्थो ऽनर्थश्चेति ।कोऽनर्थः.....! यः प्रत्यवायायश्येनो वज्रः इषु
रित्येवमादिः ।कथं पुनरसावनर्थः हिंसा हि सा”

In this context Kumārila in his *Vārtika* raises an objection or *pūrvapaksha* as—

कचिदस्या निषिद्धत्वाच्छक्तिः शास्त्रेण बोधिता ।
प्रत्यवायनिमित्तत्वे विधिना नापगच्छति ॥
शास्त्रेण न हि शक्तीनाभावापोद्वापनक्रियाः ।
विद्यमाना हि कथ्यन्ते शक्तयो द्रव्यकर्मणाम् ॥
तथैव चेदं कर्मेति शास्त्रमेवानुधावना ।
हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कथ्यते नानुमानतः ॥”

Umbeka introduces the above *Pūrvapaksha* thus—

सारव्यनाशकमाधवस्त्वाह विहायानुमानादीन्विधिप्रतिषेधत्वनिबन्धनत्वमेव धर्माधर्म-
योरवलम्ब्याग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मतामाह—कचिदस्येति—

अयमर्थः—सत्यं विधिप्रतिषेधनिबन्धनावेव धर्माधर्मौ । तौ तु विधिप्रतिषेधौ
तयोरिष्टानिष्टशक्तिज्ञापकौ न पुनः कारकौ । ततः किमिति चेदिदं ततो भवति—हिंसा
तावदेका व्यक्तिस्तैलोक्येऽपि । तस्याश्च कचिल्लोके ब्रह्महत्यादिषु ‘न हिंस्याः सर्वभूता-
नीति प्रतिषेधादनिष्टसाधनत्वशक्तिरवगमिता न च प्रतिहता । सेदानीं विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु
हिंसा या विशेषान्नापगच्छति । न हि तेषां विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु ब्रह्महत्या-दिषु वा
कश्चिद्विशेषः । तत्र यदि नामाग्नीषोमीयादिषु विधिरपरः प्रतीयते किं तावदपूर्वप्रामिता
शक्तिरपगच्छतिरः । तत्र न हि विवेरपगतानिष्टसाधनशतयपगमे कश्चिद्व्यापारः तत्र विधितः
श्रेयः साधनत्वावगमात् । सर्वशास्त्रानुसारादेव हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कल्प्यते, न पुनरनुमानतः
इति स्थितमग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मत्वम् ॥

This is the argument of Mādhava in dealing with the force of vedic injunction which he seems to accept as only a ज्ञापक and not as कारक and in the apparent inconsistency of विधि and प्रतिषेध the validity of vedic injunction will be thrown out and अनुमान has to be accepted. Kumarila and also Prabhākara and his pupil answer this objection properly.

Mādhava with his title Sāṅkhyānāyaka must be a great Sāṅkhya writer probably later than Śābarasvāmin. In the catalogue of the Mss. in the Jessalmere Bhandar published in the Gaekwad series of Baroda a doubtful entry has been made of a commentator on Sāṅkhyasaptati where the initial letter मा alone is given. The learned editors naturally conclude that the letter may indicate माठर a well-known commentator on the same. It will be happy and bold conjecture that the work referred to is a commentary of Mādhava. A trial at the identity of that manuscript may not be unprofitable for research scholars.

(To be continued)

CHEEDIVALASA PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMA

By R. SUBBA' RAO, M. A., L. T.

An article on these copper-plates, prepared by Mr. Karri Sambamurti Sastri of Narasannapeta, Ganjam Dt., was read in Telugu before the Telugu academy meetings held at Cocanada on 30th January 1927. It was later on edited in telugu by the same scholar in the Journal of the Academy dated March 1927. It is said that the present set of plates was discovered by a ryot, while digging earth in Cheedivalasa, a hamlet two miles off Narasannapeta. It was secured for the teachers' association, Narasannapeta by the then Deputy Inspector of schools there. At the request of the association, Mr. Sambamurti Sastri edited the same. I am thankful to Mr. Sastri for kindly sending over the plates to the society and for allowing me to edit the same in English in the Society's research Journal. I must also express my gratitude to my friend, Mr. G. V. Sithapati of Parlakimidi for giving me revised readings of the plates. These readings differ from the original readings of Mr. Sastri in several places.

The present set of plates is three in number. On the first side of the first plate, nothing is written except that a conch-shell, one inch long, is carved out on it. The second side of the third plate contains only three lines of subject-matter relating to the inscription. One inch below the same is carved out a lotus creeper containing a flower and two buds on either side of it. The flower as well as the buds have long stems of over an inch. The second side of the first plate contains nine lines, while the two sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate contain ten lines each.

Each plate measures nine inches in length, three and half inches in width and one-fourth of an inch in thickness. At a distance of an inch from the edge of each plate, there is a hole three-fourths of an inch in diameter through which runs a copper ring. The ring holding the plates is half an inch thick and 15 inches in circumference. Its diameter measures 5 inches. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal which is three-fourths inch thick, three-inches in diameter, and eight inches in circumference. The lowest part of the seal contains a lotus flower with its long stem and on it is fixed a seat and on the seat lies a couchant bull facing proper left. At the topmost part of the seal, there is a crescent and below it the legend 'Sri Devendravarma, inscribed in old Devanagari characters. The seal and the various figures found on it seem to be cast.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, but the village names are all in old telugu language. The ring with seal weighs

tolas and the three copperplates together weigh $157\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. Thus, the total set weighs 220 tolas. The rims of the plates and of the seal are raised so as to keep the writing and the figures intact.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit but the village names are all in old telugu. The use of the prakrit word 'Samvachch-hara' is significant. The inscription contains eight anushtubh slokas, one indravraja vritta and one viyogini vritta. The rest is in prose. The subject matter of the inscription seems to be composed, by Mudhapa, though it is stated that he is only the scribe. It would appear from the inscription that it was examined by two scholars Bhatta Sridhara and Bhatta Yazu. However, the defects which are usually found in mediaeval Sanscrit inscriptions are also found in this, as, for example, the use of 'visarga' and 'dvittva' in places where it ought to be found is not to be found and also the 'satidhi' rules are not observed in the 'gadya' portion.

The writing on the plates is in a good state of preservation, though in some portions of the plates we see some traces of old writing superimposed by new matter. The alphabet used is old Devanagari. The chief points that call for orthographical notice are the following. 1. No difference is observed between a and â, é and ai, da and ða, va and ba, ca and ta, la and ða, etc.

2. Vowels like u i, e ai and au do not occur independently and separately.

3. The doubling of consonants is not done in several places.

4. The letters pa, ya and sa resemble one another closely.

5. The guttural nasal is used instead of anusvara.

6. The use of lingual for palatal nasal as in manjari, punja etc., is seen.

DATE

The date of the inscription is given in lines 40 and 41 both in words and numbers. It is "pravardhamana vijaya rajya samva-charanam sata traya saptadhika navati" ankenapi 397, Evidently, this refers to the 397th year of the Gangeya era. Please read the note on the same at the end of the article.

THE GRANT

The present grant is very important for the following reasons:—

1. It is the longest grant yet discovered of the early eastern Ganga kings consisting of 42 lines.

2. It gives the pedigree of the early Ganga line to four generations unlike the other records.

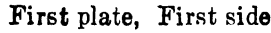
3. It is the only record discovered so far in which we get gifts made by early Gangas to Vanga or Bengal brahmins.

4. It is so far the latest record of the early Ganga dynasty discovered. The donor's father unlike the donors of earlier grants possesses titles like Maharadhiraja Paramesvara and Parama Mahesvara which prove his paramount supremacy. Such titles were taken for the first time in the Eastern Chalukya dynasty by Vijaya-ditya, the second (800-843, A.D.)

The inscription records a grant of Sividi—Pradesa in the village of Kandalivâda, made by Bhupendravarma's son Sree Devendra varma on the occasion of the solar eclipse to the villagers of Sipidi by name Aditya bhatta, Yajubhatta and Sendidevabhatta, etc, who were of Vanga country (Bengal) and who were of Bhāradvāja gotra and who were eager in performing sacrifices and reciting Vedas.

Among the boundaries of the Village granted, we get the following names of the villages:—In the N. E. quarter Sividi, Bhādivâda and Kandalivâda; in the N and N. W. quarter, Sividi, and in the western region, Nāpitavâda, Kōlampari and Kandalivâda.

The donees seem to be brahmins of Bengal who probably settled in Sividi and got the Royal help. The village of Sipidi or Sividi which was granted probably became Seedi or Cheedi, (present Cheedivalasa) where these plates were discovered. Some of the Kalinga brahmins have got gōtrams and names ending in Bhatta and it is possible that they are the descendants of the ancient donees.

[illegible]

First plate, Second side

[illegible]

Second plate, First side

TEXT

First Plate, First side.

It contains no letters but the figure of a conch-shell, nearly one inch long, is inscribed on it.

First plate, second side.

1. Om svasti srimadanēka dēvakulakulād amarapurānukarinā¹
kalpānta sankalpitāna-
2. -lpa jana sam²rājya mōhita mahāmahimnōmahitala³ tilakāt
kaliṅga
3. nagarāt prasiddha siddha tāpasādhyāsita kandarōlara mahēndra
girisikhara
4. sēkharasya surāsura garōs sakala t⁴ribhuvanamahāprasāda
nirmāṇaika
5. sūtradhārasya bhagavatōgōkarnasvāmi(nas ca)ranakamala sam
6. bhava salilakshalita kalikāla kalaṁko gangāmalakula cu(ḍa)⁵
7. -maṇi sphurjaṁ⁶ nijabhujā vāja⁷ bhrājita sakalakalimḡadhi rājya
maṁdāni
8. -lḡ vëlākula kallōla jaladhi mēghalā vanitalāmala yasōnēka
bhisa⁸
9. -ṇa samara saṁkshōbha janita jayap~~ratāpavanata~~ samasta
sāma(ṇta)

Second plate first side.

10. kirtta⁹ kirana maṇjari puṇja raṇjita caraṇah parama māhesvaro
mātā
11. pitru¹⁰ pādānudhyātō mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara srimad
bhupēndra¹¹ varmma su-
12. -nuh sṛī Dēvendra varmma svāsīdarā vinibhina¹² sakalārāti
maṇḍala¹³yō rakshiti
13. kshitidhīrah¹⁴ kshitsō¹⁵ nānya sāsanat prāp(ta vela)tata yasya
kirtaya¹⁶ phē
14. -na nirmalā anyōnyam vārayantīva vicayasca mahodadhih
yasmin vasumati

1. Read 'kāriṇah' 2. Read 'sām' 3. Read 'mahītala' 4. Read 'tribhuvana'
5. Read 'cuḍā' 6. Read 'sphūrjam' 7. Read 'vajra' 8. Read 'bhisha' 9. Read
'kirtta' 10. Read 'pitru' 11. Read 'bhupēndra' 12. Read 'vinirbhinna' 13. Read
'maṇḍala' 14. Read 'shitim' 15. Read 'kshittso' 16. Read 'kirtayah'

15. pāti stēya sabdō nirardhaka(h) paradravyāpaharāṇa viraha(h)
pratyayād 'abhutta Māra
16. simha pitā yasya Vajri caiva pitāmaha svayam Dēvēndra varmēti
sutis¹ sadguna kirtanam² saha
17. kōluvarattanyām kandalivāda grāma nivāsi kutumbina³ samavētan
ājñāpayati yathā
18. -yam dharmō mātā pitrōr atmanas ca punyābhi vrudhayē⁴ mayā
ijyādhyayana kruyārā⁵
19. tebhyāte⁶ kē sipidi grāma vāstavyā⁷ vēda vedāṅga vēdina
sruti smṛt(yu)

Second plate, second side.

20. -ditam dharma manisam paryupāsāt tēbhya' āditya bhāṭṭa
yajñubhāṭṭa khandidēva bhāṭṭa
21. pramukhēbhya¹⁰ sividi grāmārjita gōjā dīkshita vaṅgajēbhya¹¹
bharadvāja gōtrēbhya angī
22. -rasa bārhaspatya bhāradvāja pravarebhya¹² sūryagrahāṇa
nimittē sividi pravēsam¹³ kanda
23. -livāda grāmō data¹¹ sarvakara parihārēṇi candrārkaṁ yathōcita
bhōga bhāgaṁ da
24. ttvā sukham prativasathēti tatah prādākshinyēna simā¹⁵ linkhani
likhyam¹⁶
25. -nte isānyadisi sividi bhādivādakandalivādānam trikuṭē tintrini
vrksha¹⁷ ta
26. -tōta vana rāji¹⁸ tatas silā samudra¹⁹ tata²⁰ prācyadisi saiva
vanaraji tintrini²¹ vrksha
27. sahita yāvad gulma sahita vālmika²² tata agnēyō disi bhusita²³
pamkti yā
28. vat parvati tata²⁴ silā sangha²⁵ tatō nēka nimba sahita vanaraji
tatō dakshinasyām
29. disi saiva vanaraji haridrā vrksha samanvita vālmika sahita
(saiva) tintrini²⁶

1. Read 'sūtis' 2. Read 'kirtanam' 3. Read 'kutumbinah' 4. Read 'vrudhaye'
5. Read 'kriyāra' 6. Read 'tēbhya'
7. Read 'vāstavyah' 8. Read 'vēdinah'
9. Read 'tēbhya'
10. Read 'pramukhēbhya'
11. Read 'vauga'
12. Read 'pravarebhya'
13. Read 'pradēsam'
14. Read 'dattah'
15. Read 'simā'
16. Read 'likhya'
17. Read 'vrkshah'
18. Read 'rāji'
19. Read 'samudrah'
20. Read 'tatah'
21. Read 'tintrini'
22. Read 'vālmikah'
23. Read 'bhāsilā pañkti'
24. Read 'tatah'
25. Read 'saṅghah'
26. Read 'tintrini'

Third plate, first side.

30. vṛksha sahita vālmika sahita tata(h) nirutyām diśi tintrini vṛksha
dvaya sahita tata kanda
31. -livāda khōlampari nāpidāvādanam¹ trukutte vālmika² tata³
praticyam⁴ diśi tintrini tāla pa
32. -nkti (sahita) tata sālmalī vṛksha tata kandalivāda nāpita vāda
sipidinām trukutte⁵ tāla
33. -traya (haridra) vṛksha sahita saiva vana rāji bhavishyad bhupan
ājñāpayati prānāya lōkasya
34. grihita⁶ cāpām nāgaminō ham prapātō bravīmi sādharana⁷
sarvvanarādhipānam dha
35. -rmō virudhō bhuvi(pālantiyōh) veditam niyatam kriyā phalam
carita(m) sacca purāṇa bhū
36. bhrtām katicicdi⁸ nā niji pitaharaṇāt pālanamēvavōhitam pātrā
samarpanādēvakrita⁹
37. -rdhō ham narādhipāh tanimitta¹⁰ ma punyam vi mābhudtti
niveditam āha ca vyāsah svadatam¹¹ para
38. datamvā¹² yatnād raksha yudhisthira macim mahim matām
srēshṭha dānāscrēyōnu¹³ pālanam shashṭhi
39. (var)sha sahasrāni svargē tishṭhati bhumida akshēptā cā numantā
ca tānyēva narakē vasēditi

Third plate, second side.

40. Pra ardhamāna vijaya rāja samvacharānām¹¹ satatraya sapta-
dhikā navati ankenāpi
41. 397-mudhapēṇa likhitam savvadapēnō¹⁵ likhitam bhata¹⁶ sri
dharēṇa bhata yajnēna cā
42. parikshitam ata¹⁷dōsha trunnikāryā vidvadbhi dōsōdr¹⁸ya vidya
mānāpita catānam prakāsatayati

1. Read 'nāpita' 2. Read 'vālmikah' 3. Read 'tatah' 4. Read 'praticyam'.
5. Read 'trikutē' 6. Read 'grihita' 7. Read 'sādharanah' 8. Read 'katicicēdi'
9. Read 'krutā' 10. Read 'tanimitta' 11. Read 'svadattam' 12. Read 'dattam'
13. Read 'dānāscrē' 14. Read 'samvatsarānām' 15. Read 'savvadapēnō'
16. Read 'bhata' 17. Read 'atra' 18. Read 'dōshō',

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE CONTENTS.

Lines 1-18:—Om. Hail! from Kalinganagara, which is filled with many temples of great prosperity, which is equal to Amarapura (in glory), whose great power is enchanted by the great sovereignty created at the end of kalpa, which is the jewel of earth, he, who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by waters arising out of washing of the feet of Divine (God) Gokarnasvami, who is the śilpâcârya or the master architect of the three worlds, who is the Guru of the Dêvas and the Asuras, and who is the crest jewel of the summit of the mountain Mahêndragiri, whose caves are the abodes of illustrious Siddhâs and Tâpasas, who is the crowning diamond of the Ganga dynasty, who enjoys 'Kalingadhirajyam' protected by his bright shoulders resembling diamonds, he, whose pure fame has spread over all the earth, surrounded by sea, the coastal waves of which are caused by cool breezes, and he whose feet are brightened by the lustre of diamonds in the crowns of all vassal kings who are subdued by the power arising out of victories in several battles, he, who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, who is a Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêsvara—Sri Dêvendravarma, son of the illustrious Bhûpêndravarma, whose father is Mârasimha and grandfather Vajri (Indravarma) whose reign has not witnessed a single theft, whose white fame resembling foam and spreading to the coast of the great sea is rivalling the waves, and whose unexampled command rules all the earth, his sword having cut down all enemies,—commands all the assembled cultivators of Kandalivâda village in Kôluvertani vishaya.

Lines 18-23:—Know ye all that this gift is made for the increase of the merit of myself and my parents. This grant of Sividi in Kandalivâda village is made by me on the occasion of solar eclipse to Adityabhata, Yajubhatta, Sendidevarabhata and others, who are of Bengal and who observe Gôjadiksha in Sividi village, who are of Bhâradvaja gotra with Ângirasa, Bârhaspatya and Bhâradvaja pravara, who are eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, who are residents of Sividi village, who are well versed in Vedas and Vedangas and who always practise Dharma as described in Śrutis and Smritis.

Lines 23-24:—Let this gift, which is granted free from all taxes and obstacles, be enjoyed so long as moon and sun endure, with all the usual rights and shares.

Lines 24-33:—Then follow the boundaries of the village granted viz., Sividi.

Lines 33-37:—Then follow three verses which request future rulers not to interfere with the gift.

Lines 37-39:—Then follow the two usual verses of Vyasa,

Line 40:—This grant is made in the augmenting victorious year 397.

Lines 41-42:—Written (composed) by Mudhapa, inscribed by Savvadapa, and examined by Bhatta Sridhara and Bhatta Yaju.

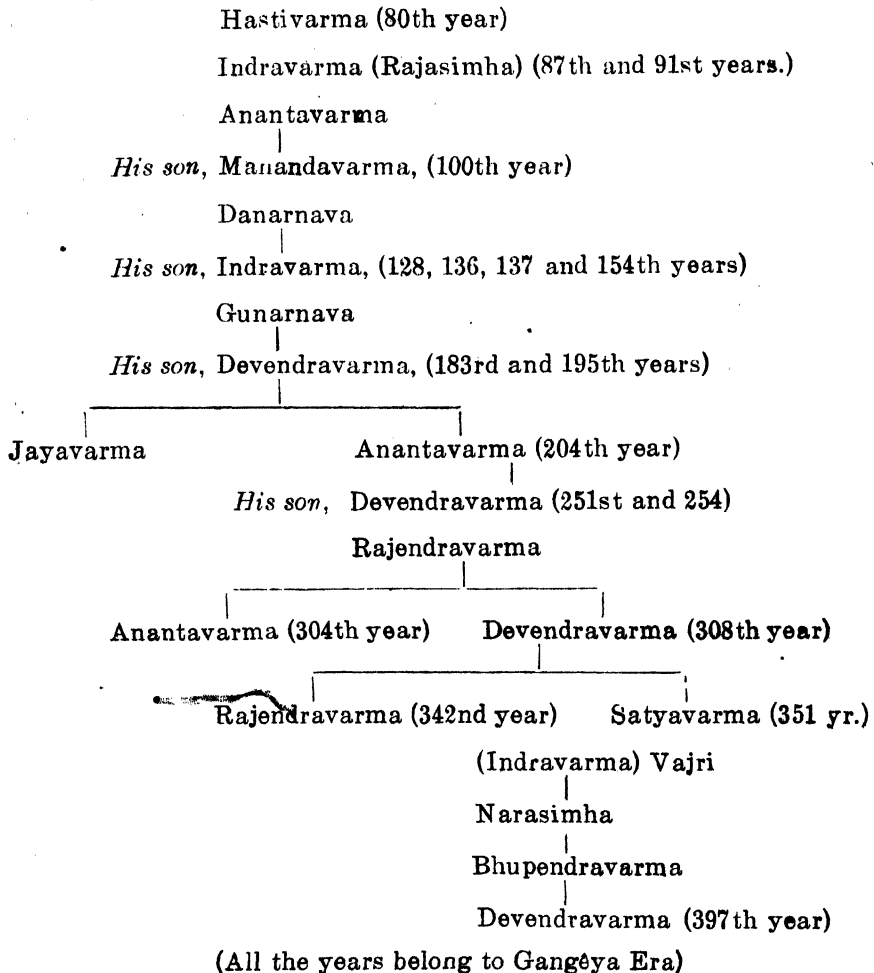
A NOTE OF THE GANGEYA ERA

So far, 18 copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings have been published and with this grant, the list reaches 19. The impressions of one more unpublished copper plate grant of Maharaja Mānanda varma, son of Anantavarma dated in the 100th year of Gageya era Pravardhamāna Vijayarajya Samvachchara Śatā have just been received from the Yubraj of Tekkali, Sree L. N. Deb, M. B. A. S., From a critical examination of the several inscriptions, we get the following list (arranged in order of date) of early Ganga kings who ruled over Kalinga:—

1. Hasti-varma of Urlam plates, who granted the village of Urumalla in the 80th year of the Gangeya era.
2. Indravarma (Rajasimha) of Achyutapuram plates and Tekkali plates both dated in the 87th year and of Parlakimidi plates dated in the 91st year of the Gangeya era.
3. Mānandavarma, son of Anantavarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 100th year of the Gangeya era.
4. Indravarma of Kalinga plates (two sets found in Chicacole) dated in the 123th and 136th years respectively.
5. Danarnava's son Indravarma of Purli plates and Tekkali plates dated in the years 137 and 154 respectively.
6. Gunaranava's son, Devendravarma of Chicacole and Siddhantam plates dated in the 183 and 195 years respectively.
7. Devendravarma's son Anantavarma, who in the 204th year of the Gangeya era gave Thalathere to a vedic scholar at the instance of his brother Jayavarma.
8. Anantavarma's son, Devendravarma of Kalinga plates and Vizag plates dated in the 251st and 254th years respectively.
9. Rajendravarma's son, Anantavarma of Alamanda plates dated in the 304th year of the Gangeya era.
10. Rajendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 308th year and of Bangalore Museum plates "dated probably 700 A. D." (vide Ep. Carnataka, Bangalore volume).
11. Devendravarma's son, Rajendravarma of 342nd year of the Gangeya era, (vide J. B. O. R. S., vol. 12 page 101)
12. Devendravarma's son, Satyavarma of Chicacole plates dated in the 352nd year of Gangeya era,

13. Bhupendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Cheedivalasa plates dated in 397th year of Gangeya era.

Hence, the following genealogy may be arranged:—



E. GANGA CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the Early Gangas presents insurmountable difficulty. Scholars have suggested already several dates for the beginning of the Gangeya Era. An unknown writer who edited Hastivarma's Urlam plates in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika dated May 1920, stated that Hastivarma of the Urlam plates must be the same as the Hastivarma of Vengi, who was defeated by Samudragupta. He also stated that Hastivarma of Urlam plates lived in 340 A. D. Further, since Hastivarma of Urlam plates has mentioned

80th year of the Gangeya era, he wrote, that date would synchronise with Samudragupta's invasion about 350 A.D. Finally, he concluded by writing that about 270 A.D. (350—80), the Gangeya era was started. But, the writer's arguments are open to serious objection because, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta expressly states that it was Hastivarma of Vengi and not Hastivarma of Kalinganagara that was defeated by him. It must also be remembered that the Hastivarma of Vengi was a Salankayana, while the Hastivarma of the Urlam plates was a Gangâmalakulatilaka. Hence, Hastivarma of Urlam plates cannot be the same as Hastivarma of Vengi and so he cannot be held to be a contemporary of Samudragupta. Thus, the writer's argument that the 80th year of the Gangeya era would be equivalent to 270 A.D. falls to the ground.

In an article, on the chronology of the Early Ganga kings of Kalinga, published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa research society (Vol. IX) dated 1923 by my friend Mr. G. Ramdas B.A., the theories put forward by Dr. Fleet to settle the epoch of the Gangeya era, (Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI) were closely examined. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Maharajah Indravarma, Dr. Fleet stated that *the Epoch of the Gangeya era still remained to be determined*. However, while previously publishing the Chicacole grants, Dr. Fleet stated that the clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarma's grant of the 128th year. Also, he stated that the Indravarma of the grant of 128th year might possibly be identical with the Adhirajendra who overthrew Indrabhattaraka, a younger brother of the Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasimha I (A.D., 633-666) Mr. Ramadas availed himself of the clues supplied by Dr. Fleet but after a detailed astronomical calculation, stated that the years suggested by Dr. Fleet to determine the beginning of the Kalinga Ganga Era would not stand the test and that Indravarma of 128th year could not be identified with Adhiraja Indra mentioned in the Godavari Grant of Raja Prithvimula.

Mr. Ramdas stated that, from the use of the phrase "Vijaya rājyasamvatsara" found in all the Ganga grants, the Vijayam or the victory alluded to, signified the independence of Kalinga, from out of the hands of the Pishtapura kings, who formerly ruled over Kalinga but who were defeated by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. He has also instituted a comparison between the characters of the plates of Early Gangas and those of the plates of Guptas and opined that the initial year of the Kalinga era should be placed between the years 330 and 400 A.D. Further, he has stated thus:—"Since the exploits of Samudragupta belonged to this period and since he defeated Swâmidatta, Kalinga might have passed under his control and then he must have shown mercy by placing one of his followers on the throne of the conquered country, namely. Kalinga".

This follower according to him was a Ganga prince who out of gratitude must have founded the Ganga era. Further he added "Taking the 351st year of Gangeya Era to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kamarnava I (founder of later Gangeyas) seems to have ascended the throne 351 years after the founding of the era.....It is seen that Kamarnava I came to throne in Saka 651. So, the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the Era is Saka 300 or A.D. 378". This falls within Saka 251—301, the dates of Samudraguptas accession and death respectively.

Finally by a series of astronomical calculations, based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in Ganga grants he came to the conclusion that the Saka year 271 or A. D. 349 would be the year when the Gangeya era was initiated.

The above conclusions of my friend do not bear the test of time, owing to the discovery of the Cheedivalasa grant of Devendravarma which is dated in the 397th year of the Gangeya era. If, according to my friend, the Gangeya era was founded in Saka 271, Devendravarma of the present grant would have ruled in the Saka year 668 or A.D., 746 i. e. 17 years after Kamarnava's accession to the throne of later Ganga dynasty according to my friend's calculation. and 23 years according to other calculation.

In other words, the donor of the Cheedivalasa grant and Kamarnava the first, the founder of the later Ganga line would not only be contemporaries, but would also rule from the same place viz. Kalinganagara. This would be hard to accept. Under the circumstances, it must be said that the era could not be founded in 271 Saka as stated by my friend. From a study of the Palaeography, the alphabet of the grants of the early Ganga kings cannot be held to belong to such an early date, as is suggested by the chronology of my friend. Also, the internal evidence of the several grants precludes us from accepting the arguments of Mr. Ramdas that the Eastern Gangas were placed on the throne by the Gupta Emperor, Samudra Gupta. Not only do they fail to tell us the same but they also proclaim that the Early Ganga kings established their power over Kalinga by their own prowess. Further, it must be noted that the Gupta era was not at all recognised but on the other hand the "Augmenting Victorious Gangeya era" was started just like the "Augmenting Victorious Gupta era." If the Gangas had been placed on the Kalinga throne by Samudra Gupta, they would have adopted the Gupta era dating from 319—320 A.D., and they would not have ventured to start an independent era of their own. As would be pointed out in this article, the Eastern Ganga kings started their era only after the decline and fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the fifth century.

Synchronisms help us in fixing dates. Prithvimula's Godavary plates tell us that Adhirajendra of the N. E. region defeated the Indrabhattaraka of the S. W. region. This Indrabhattaraka is identified with the younger brother of Jayasimha (933—666 A.D.) by Drs. Fleet and Burgess. If this is correct, then Adhiraja-Indra of 87th and 91st years of the Gangeya era would be contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya Indrabhattaraka of 667 A.D. Several Eastern Chalukyan grants mention that he succeeded Jayasimha and ruled for a week only. Adhiraja Indra would thus live in or about 667 A.D. It must follow on this hypothesis, that the Devendravarma who made the Cheedivalasa grant would live in the latter half of the 10th century A.D., a position which is inconsistent with the accepted chronology of the later Gangas as given in their grants. Hence, we will have to look for Indrabhattaraka in a different dynasty viz. Vishnukundin which ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

From the Ipur plates (two sets) Ramathirtham plates and Chikkulla plates, we get the following geneology of Vishnukundin kings:—

Mādhava I (Founder—probably ruled about 400 A.D.)
 |
 Dēvavarma
 |
 Mādhavavarma II (Donor of Ipur plates, 1st set)
 |
 Gōvindavarma
 |
 Mādhavavarma III (Donor of Ipur plates, 2nd set
 37th year)
 |
 Vikramēndravarma I (Born to a Vakataka queen)
 |
 Indrabhattāraka, or Indravarma
 |
 (Donor of Ramathirtham plates 27th year
 Probably ruled from 525 A.D. to 555 A.D.)
 |
 Vikramēndravarma II (Donor of Chikkulla plates)
 10th year.

The Indrabhattaraka or Indravarma of Ramathirtham plates gave a gift of Pēruvataka Village, in Pazhaki vishaya which is also mentioned in the Chipurupalli or Cherupuru copper plate grant of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty (615 A.D.) It is situated in the Vizag Dt. Thus Indra-Bhattaraka may be said to have been defeated by Adhirajendravarma of Kalinga. Prithvimula, son of Prabhakara in his Godavari plates mentions that an alliance was formed by Adhirajendra against Indrabhattaraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of S. W. Region) was struck down by Indra-Adhiraja who was mounted on his own elephant, Supratika (of the N. E. Region). The Ramathirtham plates tell us that Indrabhattāraka

won several victories against the Chaturdantis (Airavatas or elephants of the eastern region.) Evidently, the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Gangas were fighting for the control over South Kalinga.

Before the Eastern Chalukyans established their power over Vengi and Kalinga in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., the Vishnukundins ruled over Vengi and South Kalinga, North Kalinga being under the rule of the Eastern Gangas. These Vishnukundin kings ruled for a little over two centuries. Their grants are written in southern alphabet, closely resembling those of the Pallavas, Salankayanas and the Early Gangas. The language of all their plates is Sanskrit, with Prakrit and a little Telugu mixture. The scribes of the grants seem to be Telugu scholars. From the Ramatirtham plates, we learn that their rule extended first over South Kalinga (modern Vizag) and then spread southwards over Vengi, as proved by the grant made in the Chikkulla plates, from their capital Lenduluru near Ellore. They were the worshippers of Sriparvatesvara, performers of Horse sacrifices and relations of the Vākatakas, who were related to the Guptas. They seem to be a Northern people who gradually spread to the south along the east coast and ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries, until their dynasty was overthrown by the Eastern Chalukyan Emperor Vishnuvardhana I, who established his strong rule over both Vengi and South Kalinga and ruled between 615 and 633 A.D.

The archaic script of the early grants which resembles that of the Pallava and Salankayana grants, the use of prakrit words and other internal evidences enable us to conclude that the earlier grants (Ipur plates, 1st set) belong to 450 A.D., or thereabouts. While editing the Peda-vegi plates of Nandivarma II in the Society's Journal (Vol. I Pt 21. pp 92-102) I stated on page 95, that Vikramendravarma or his father Madhavavarma defeated the Salankayanas and overthrew their dynasty. It is probable that Madhavavarma who married a Vākataka princess and obtained the support of the Vākatakas overthrew the Salankayanas of Vengi and set up Visnukundin rule over that region also, about 475 A.D. His claim to the performance of horse sacrifices can thus be understood. It is equally probable that this southern advance was found necessary owing to the increased power of the Eastern Gangas in the north. It is significant that they changed their capital from Puranisangam—probably in Vizag Dt., to Lenduluru, modern Dendulur near Ellore.

Now, taking 400 A.D., as the closing date of the founder Madhavavarma I and granting an average of 25 years as the period of rule for every succeeding king, we get 525 A.D., as the date for the accession of Indrabhattaraka the donor of Ramatirtham plates. It must be during this king's reign, as noted already, that the Eastern Ganga king, Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajrsimha of Kalinganagara

of the 87th and 91st year of the Gangeya era formed a powerful alliance of the neighbouring princes and defeated Indrabhattaraka and wrested South Kalinga from out of his hands. I cannot agree with my friend Mr. G. J. Dubreuil who holds (vide his *Ancient History of Dekkan*) that the victory lay with the Vishnukundin king for the following two reasons:—

1. It is against the express statement made in the grant of Prithvimula.

2. It is not in consonance with the increasingly victorious rule of the E. Gangas as proved by their grant.

The Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajasimha of the years 87 and 91 of the Gangeya era is not the same in my opinion as the Indravarma of Chicacole grants of 128 and 146 years. According to the former grants, the king acquired authority "Adhiraj" over the whole of Kalinga by the power of his sword. He calls himself 'the est blisher of the spotless family of the Gangas.' He bears the title 'Rajasimha' which is not borne by the Indra of 128 and 149 years. Probably, the latter Indra was the grandson of the former.

This Indravarma, of the Parlakimidi plates, of the 91st year of the augmenting victorious Gangeya era, judged from the internal evidence of his own grants and from the external evidence of Prithvimula's charter should be considered as the contemporary of Indrabhattaraka Vishnukundin who, as noted above, succeeded to the throne about 525 A.D., and ruled for about 30 years i. e., till 555 A.D. This period therefore roughly corresponds to the reign of Indravarma I and it follows that the Gangeya era of the 91st year was started during the middle of the 5th century, i. e., in 450 or 460 A.D.

The Pedavēgi copper plates of Nandivarma II (Vide facsimile of plates in this Journal Vol. I, Pt. 2, facing page, 94) which probably belong to the middle of the 5th century A.D., were written in the early Vengi lipi, while the Urlam plates of Hastivarma (vide facsimile in *Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika* May 1920 or in *Epigraphia Indica* vol. XII) are clearly later in time, though they too are written in the Vengi Lipi. The characters of the Urlam plates are more rounded, showing that they are of a later period. From a consideration of the palaeography, about a century must have elapsed for admitting this change in the lipi. The Urlam plates belong, on Palaeographical grounds, to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., Drs. Burnell and Fleet and other learned scholars state that the lipi of the several inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana I (615-633 A.D.) resembles closely the lipi of the grants of Indravarma II and Devendravarma of the 183 year of the Gangeya era. This would also support the theory that the era commenced about the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Dr. Burgess, in his volume on Tamil and Sanscrit inscriptions states that the Indravarma of 128th year of the Gangeya era may

possibly be identified with the Adhirājendra mentioned in the Godavery grant of Raja, Prithvimula and thinks that he killed the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka, the younger brother of Jayasinha who according to him, ruled from Saka 549-582. "This is the period about which the present grant (of Indravarma of the 128th year) and the next two grants (of Indravarma of 146 year and Devendravarma of 251st year) on Palaeographic grounds should be referred." He also states that, on historical as well as on Palaeographical grounds, Indravarma of 136th year should be referred to about Saka 579-582 i. e., A. D. 657-660 and Anantavarma's son Devendravarma of 251st year, to Saka 696 or 774 A. D. "This is the latest period to which, on Palaeographical grounds, Devendra's grants should be referred". From this, it would follow that the Gangeya era started about 520 A.D. But his identification of Indravarma of the 128th year with the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka is not acceptable for the reasons stated already and especially in view of the fact that the Vishnukundins who ruled over the country before their time are stated in their charters to have fought with Chaturdantas or elephnats of Indra (of the N. E. Region). I think it was only the Vishnukundin Indravarma that was referred to in the plates of Prithvi-mula. On this basis, Adhirajendra or Indravarma I has already been stated to be the contemporary of Vishnukundin Indravarma and to belong to the middle of the 6th century A. D. The Gangeya era therefore must have begun about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

According to the tradition of the Eastern Gangas, as recorded in their copper plate inscriptions, the first king and founder of the dynasty, came to the throne by defeating Baladitya (Samara sirasi sa-Baladityan nirjitya).¹ There is a Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, who built a Buddhist temple at Nalanda and who succeeded Pura Gupta in 467 A. D. "*The Gupta empire perished in that year 467 A.D., though latter Guptas continued to rule over Magadha along with another dynasty of Rajahs who had names ending in Varman and belonged to Maukhari.*"² About 525 A.D., Yasodarma, a Rajah of Central India defeated Mihirāgula and became master of N. India from Brahmaputra to the Western ocean and from Himalaya to Mount Mahendra³. From the above references, it is clear that the Gupta empire fell during the middle of 5th century owing to repeated Hun attacks. The Maukhari varmas and the Eastern Ganga varmas therefore rose to power and started independant eras in the latter half of the 5th century. Taking all these things into consideration, it may be said that the Gangeya era started about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

1. Korni plates J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, Pt. 3, P. 108.

2. V. A. Smith's Early History of India IVth Edition, P. 330.

3. Ibid Page 339.

The seal of the Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta (Edited by Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III, p 222) resembles very closely that of the Cheedivalasa plates. The figures carved in relief on both seals present close resemblance. The inscription is said to begin similarly to the grants of the Eastern Ganga, Maharajas, Devendravarma and Satyavarma; and it bears a closer comparison to the present grant. The palaka or the headman of the village which was granted was one Ugrakhediraja of the Kadamba family. We know that several early Ganga grants were made at the instance of the Khedi Kadambas who seem to be the relations of the Gangas. The Kadambas who were employed as Grâmapâlakas or royal officers or writers are found from the inscriptions of both the early and later Gangas to be closely related to them. From the western Ganga inscriptions and also from the Kadamba inscriptions, we learn that the Kadambas were related by marriage alliances to them. These Kadambas, as we learn from their inscriptions, meditated on Kârtikeya, son of Siva. They were lords of Banavâsi or Vijayanti and were of Mânava Gôtra and Hâritiputra. They performed horse sacrifices. They married their girls to Guptas, Gângas and Râttas. Their family god was Jayanti Madhukeswara of Banavâsi and they claim to have brought brahmins from Jajpur and granted them gifts of villages. These Kadambas who were thus related to the W. Gangas in the south and to the E. Gangas (of both early and later age) in the north, give us an important clue in believing that the later and early Gangas of Kalinga must be one and the same and they were all related to the main branch of Gangas of Mysore who went to the South from the Gangetic valley. Their family name, their titles as seen from their inscriptions, their god, capital and gifts of villages which are identically same show clearly that the early and later Gangas belong to one and the same dynasty which ruled continuously over Kalinga from the middle of the 5th century to the middle of the 15th century.

It would appear from Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription that Swamidatta was the king of Pishtapur and Mahendragiri Kothur in Kalinga during the middle of the 4th century A.D. From Ragolu plates (vide *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII P. 1.) of Saktivarma, we learn that that king had his capital at Pishtapura and ruled over Kalinga vishaya and granted the village of Râkaluva (Modern Ragole, 4 miles distant from Chicacole) in it, in his 13th regnal year, to the brahmin Kumaraswâmin. The grant was written by his minister Arjunadatta. The alphabet of this grant is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Salankayana grants and the Brihatproshta grant of Umavarma who granted Brihatproshta to the brahmin scholar Haridatta in his 30th regnal year. The alphabet and phraseology of all these grants closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Maharajah Chandravarma who granted the village of

Kohetura from his capital Simhapura in the 6th year of his reign and also those of Nanda Prabhanjana Varma who granted, from his residence at Sarapalli, the village of Dayavata for the benefit of a brahmin named Harischandra Swami. The text resembles the Salankayana and Pallava grants of 4th and 5th century A.D. The grant is not dated but on paleographical grounds, it can be referred to the middle of 5th century A.D. From the epithets "Sakala Kalingādhipati" and "Maharaja" used by the above mentioned kings, we have to learn that they ruled independently over Kalinga. From the similarity of titles used by the kings, we have to learn that they all belonged to the same dynasty but unfortunately its name is not given. We might call them Kalinga kings (not Gangas) and arrange the following geneology and chronology from the internal evidence supplied by their grants:—

Swamidatta (340 A.D. Capital Pittapur)

Saktivarma (375 A.D. Do.)

Umavarma (400 A.D. Capital Simhapura)

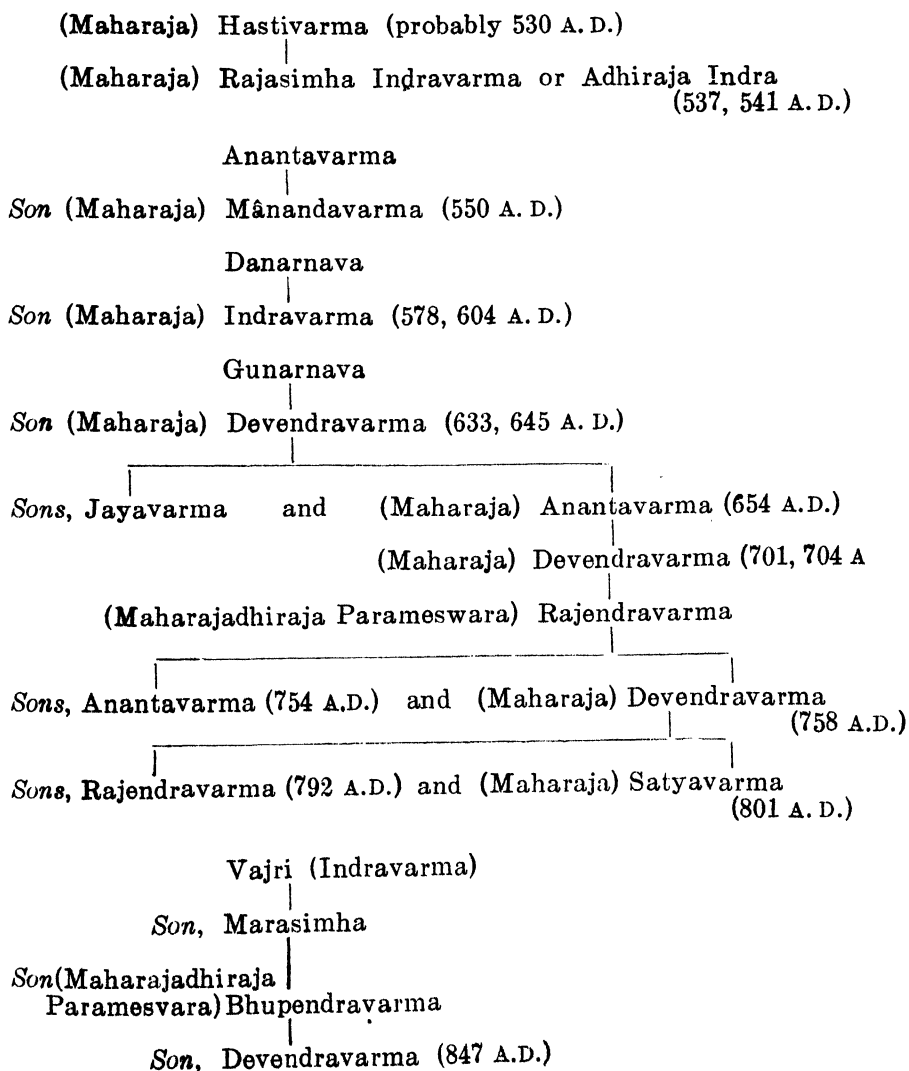
Chandavarma (425 A.D. Do.)

Nanda Prabhanjanavarma (450 A.D. Capital Sarepalli)

There are two sets of Eastern Ganga inscriptions of Anantavarma Choda Ganga which give two different geneologies. In Indian Antiquary Vol. 18, Dr. Fleet published 3 grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003, S. 1040 and S. 1057. The geneologies given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agree with those given in all the grants of Vajrahasta. The grants of Anantavarma Choda Ganga, dated S. 1034 and S. 1040, however trace the geneology from the pre-historic age to Kamarnava I, who is said to be the founder and name some more kings till Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. Mr. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, while editing the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta (S. 979) in Epigraphia Indica Vol. 4 stated thus:—The geneology given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agrees with that of the present grant. The grant of S. 1040 traces from myth to Kamarnava, who is said to be the founder. But in the other grants we do not get him and six more kings until we come to the 7th king, Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. There are several discrepancies in the grant of Saka 1040 that make it suspicious. It does not mention Vajrahasta I. It makes Vajrahasta III, the son of Madhukamarnava, while the present grant makes him the son of Kamarnava and grandson of Vajrahasta."

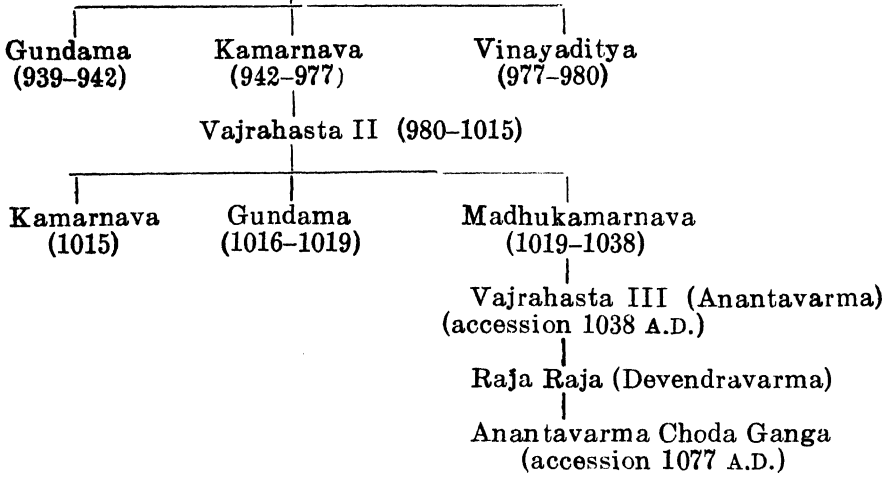
The geneology and chronology given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma Choda Ganga himself are really trustworthy. Hence, Gunarnava or Guna-maharnava would have ended his rule by 894 A.D., according to the dates

given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma. To the period proceeding 894 A.D., therefore, belong Gunarnava and the early Gangas, who have mentioned an era of their own, which has been stated to have begun in the middle of the 5th century. There is a Gunarnava, father of Devendravarma who is dated in 183-195 Gangeya era. It is probable that Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava, whose rule would have ended in 894 A.D., might have succeeded Devendravarma, the donor of Cheedivalasa plates, though not immediately. From the above account, we get the geneology and chronology of the Eastern Gangas as follows:—



Gunarnava or, Gunamaharnava (His rule ended in 894-895 A.D.)

Son, Vajrahasta (895-939 A.D.)



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the General Body Meeting held at the end of the first quarter on 27-8-1927 with Mr. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu Vice-president in the chair.

Present:

Messrs.	1. G. G. Somayajulu.	11. B. Sivaramasarma.
	2. R. Subbarao.	12. P. Mallikharjunarao.
	3. B. V. Krishnarao.	13. A. Sankararao.
	4. N. Kamesvararao.	14. D. Sambasivarao.
	5. C. Brahmanandamurthi.	15. Y. Parameswararao.
	6. S. Nagabhushanam.	16. Ch. Veerabhadrarao.
	7. V. Jagannadharao.	17. C. Suryanarayana.
	8. P. Rajagopalachari.	18. D. C. Kameswararao.
	9. N. V. Yoganandarao.	19. V. Apparao.
10.	A. Ramarao.	20. N. K. Venkatesan.
		21. S. Bhimasankararao.

Resolutions.

1. Resolved unanimously that the following gentlemen be elected as the patrons of the society.

The Rajah Saheb of Kallikota.

The Rajah Saheb of Chikati.

2. Resolved that the present rule as to the quorum of the General Body meeting be retained as it is, but that there need not be any quorum for an adjourned meeting.
3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as Hon. Presidents of the society.

Rao Bahadur Sir B. N. Sarma, K. C. S. I.

Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B. A.

4. Resolved that the society shall have, besides the persons mentioned in Rule 4, "10. Hon. Correspondents. 11. Librarian."

N. B.—These words may be inserted between 9 and 10 and the remaining items may be renumbered.

Add in Rule 15 the words "Hon. Correspondents" after "Hon. Vice Presidents."

5. Resolved to insert after Rule 19 the following:—

Librarian.

The Librarian shall be elected at the annual General Body meeting and shall hold office for one year. He shall be in charge of the Library in accordance with the rules framed by the Council for the governance of the Library.

6. The proposal of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao to delete the word "Historical" from the name of the society is defeated by a majority of one vote (8 to 7).

(Sd) G. G. Somayajulu.

**Proceedings of the managing council meeting
held on 18-10-1927.**

8. Resolved to discontinue publishing the proceedings of the managing council meetings in the Journal from 31-7-27.

**List of members who paid their subscriptions during the
Quarter ending with 30-9-27.**

Messrs.	Hirananda Sastri (26-27)	...	Rs.	3-0-0
	P. H. Ananta Narayana Iyer	...		3-0-0
	Rallabandi Subba Rao	...		4-0-0
	A. Rama Rao	...		4-0-0
	N. Kameswara Rao	...		4-0-0
	N. Subba Rao Pantulu	...		4-0-0
	C. Venkatachalam Pantulu	...		4-0-0
	A. F. A. Neudœrffer	...		4-0-0
	Vepa Purinah	...		4-0-0
	P. Bhadrappa (26-27)	...		2-0-0
	N. Venkataramiah	...		4-0-0
	K. Seetarama Rao	...		2-0-0
	V. Bapiraju (26-27)	...		1-0-0
	Yuvaraja of Tekkali	...		3-2-0
	P. Rajagopalachari (26-28)	...		7-0-0
	Nilakanta Das (26-27)	...		3-0-0
	N. K. Venkatesan (26-27)	...	{	2-0-0
	" (27-28)	...		1-0-0
	V. Jaganadha Rao	...		2-0-0
	M. K. Srinivasa Raghavachari	...		2-0-0
	C. Suryanarayana	...		4-0-0
Mrs.	Y. V. Ranganayakamma	...		4-0-0
Messrs.	K. R. Subrahmanyam	...		3-0-0
	Y. Ramamurti (26-27)	...		3-0-0
	Second Prince of Tekkali	...		3-0-0
	G. G. Somayazulu	...		4-0-0
	J. Ganganna	...		4-0-0
	S. Nagabhushanam	...		1-0-0
	R. S. Ramachandra Rao (26-28)	...		6-0-0
				<hr/>
				95-2-0
				<hr/>

**List of Subscribers to the Journal who paid their
Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 30-9-27**

Musie Guimet Paris	...	Rs.	3-0-0
University Library, Madras	...		6-0-0
			<hr/>
			Rs. 9-0-0
			<hr/>
<i>Grand total for the Quarter,</i>			Rs. 104-2-0
			<hr/>

N. Kameswara Rao,
Treasurer.

KALINGA DESA CHARITRA

(Will be published shortly.)

It contains highly instructive and learned articles written by several eminent scholars in *English*, *Oriya* and *Telugu* on Social, Religious, Historical and Literary topics relating to the history of **Kalinga Desa** from the earliest times to the modern period.

Besides, the work will be profusely illustrated with as many as **50** photo prints of temples, stupas and other ancient monuments.

Also, it will contain useful appendices of *source materials like copper plute and stone inscriptions with blocks.*

The book will contain about 300 pages (double-crown) and is priced Rs. 5 only.

Orders will be registered in advance by the treasurer.

Editor.

॥ श्रीः ॥

कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ।

प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

(नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रभारः)

सूत्र— श्रीमद्वैयाघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले स्थण्डिले संनिषण्णः

कृत्वा पर्यङ्कबन्धं फणमणिकिरणक्षारिणा तक्षकेण ।

नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन

ब्रह्मन्याख्याननिष्ठस्तव भवतु तमःकृत्तये कृत्तिवासाः ॥ १ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अये! अयं समुपस्थितः सर्वजनसामान्यमहोत्सवभूतः
शरत्समयसमवतारः । तथा हि—

हंसः सैकतमुत्सुकेन मनसा प्रत्यागतः प्रेक्षते

भृङ्गो मङ्गलपाठकः सरसिजं प्राप्तोदयं सेवते ।

रिक्तोऽपि ध्वनिपूरितत्रिभुवनं कृत्वा वदान्यप्रथां

पश्चादेति श्वनैः श्वनैः परिणतो मेघः परामुन्नतिम् ॥ २ ॥

अपि च,

कृष्णशारां कटाक्षेण कृषीवलकिशोरिका ।

करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥ ३ ॥

तदानीं तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः
प्रतिनवराज्यलाभसंवर्द्धितदृष्टिद्विपरसंकुलेऽपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासी-
दति कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलोचितेन सङ्गीतकसेवाधिकारेण
लब्धावसरो राजकुलं प्रविशामि । (प्रविश्य) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु पूर्वसूरिसूक्तिविशेषेषु
का पुनरभिवन्द्यमणीया कृतिरभिनेतव्या । भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं
चरितमधिकृत्य (विज्जि)कथा निबद्धं नाटकम् । तदिदानीमग्रतः कृत्वा मगध-
राजान्तःपुरमवलससि । तत्र मे सन्तः सहायाः—

विरसापि कृतिः प्राप्यते

'म' निष्यन्दमयं दक्षान्तरः ।

यदि नाम सताम्रः

शिशिरः प्राप्य रवेरिवातपम् ॥ ४ ॥

(विलोक्य ससम्भ्रमम्)

तपसेव विभक्तविग्रहं

किमिदं धाम भृहांतवल्कलः ।

पुनरुक्तमिवापलक्ष्यते

वदुवेषगृहणं विभावसोः ॥ ५ ॥

हन्त ! विज्ञातम्, अस्मत्पक्षपातात् स्वयमेव पारिपार्श्वको मुनिशिष्यभूमिका-
मादाय इत एवामिवर्तते । तदहमप्यनन्तरोचितेषु करणीयेषु व्याप्रिये ।
(निष्क्रान्तः)

स्थापना ।

(ततः प्रविशति मुनिशिष्यः)

मु—अहो तु खलु कुलपतेराश्रमपदस्य महती सम्भावना । यतस्तदा विद्याविनीते
गुरुजनानुज्ञाते समं सवयोमिः स्वकुलोचिते कर्मण्यधिकर्तुं प्रस्थिते कुमारे—

पुष्पं बाष्पजलोपमं क्षितितले मृत्तं मुहुः पादपै-

र्यावदृष्टिपथं तपोवनमृगं रूढीवमुद्गीक्षितं ।

चिन्ताशून्यधियो निमीलितदृग्ः सास्त्राः क्षणं तापसाः

शङ्के शोककलङ्किताः कुलपतेः कण्ठे गिरः कुण्ठिताः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ वा सर्वमिदं कुमारमुद्दिश्येति नात्र विस्मयनीयं पश्यामि । कुतः—

श्रीवृक्षाङ्कुरः स्थलं हरिचमस्थानस्तेलं गतं

पादावङ्कुशकेतुलाच्छिततलावाजारलम्बा शुणौ ।

प्राप्तं चारुमुत्तं ललाटं नामुन्मेषिणो र्जया

पर्याप्तं रजसम्पदां नृपसुतः सङ्केतगोष्ठीचरः ॥ ७ ॥

(परिक्लेश्य) अये ! अयं काश्यपायनः । (आकाशे) किमाह भवान्—कौत्स,
कुतो भवानागच्छति—इति ? कुलपतिनिदेशादभितक्ष्यण्डिकायतनं पम्पासरः-
समीपवर्तिनि कुलकामायतस्य सख्युः कुञ्जरकस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याधकिष्किन्वनमि
दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया प्रच्छन्नोषितं कुमारं कल्याणवर्माणं सुखमहर्बिहारं
दृष्ट्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि । किमाह भवान्—कथमितः प्रथिततरमेव वैरिवर्गोधि-
ष्ठितराज्यप्रत्यानयनोपायचिन्तकः पाटलिपुत्रं गतो नाद्यापि प्रतापावसरमापा-
दितवान् मन्त्रगुप्तः—इति ? ननु प्रमादभीरुत्वाद्विवेकिनां कालक्षेपवत्यः कार्य-
सिद्धयः । किमाह भवान्—कथं च कुलपतिरेव जाबालिस्तपःप्रभावेन तां
सिद्धिं नाम्यर्थितः कुमारेण—इति ? पराक्रमोपनतामेव सिद्धिममिकाङ्क्षते क्षात्रं
तेजः । किं ब्रवीषि—एवमेतत्, गच्छतु भवान्, अहमपि समिस्तुशकुसुमा-
न्युपहरामि—इति ? साधयतु भवान्, अहमपि कुलपतिं द्रक्ष्यामि ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः)

विष्कम्भकः.

(ततः प्रविशति कुमारः)

कुमा—येषामारूढा सहायान् गणयति गणनां नैकयाप्यङ्गुलीनां
तेषां तोयप्रदानं परिहरति रणस्वर्गिणां पूर्वजानाम् ।
तेषां सुप्तेव कीर्तिः प्रतिवसति यथा स्वेष्टे सालभञ्जी
येषां शेषामिवाङ्गां शिरसि नृपतयः श्रद्धदाना वहन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

तावदस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपविशामि यावत् कुञ्जरकसकाशात्
प्रतिनिवर्तते वयस्यवैखानसः । (तथा कृत्वा) अहो प्रवालशीतलेयं तरुतल-
च्छाया ।

सम्पत्त्यं भृङ्गकुला-यातै-

सुहीतगन्वादिपदानगन्धैः ।

विन्ध्यानिर्लेः शैशवशुक्तमुक्तं

प्रबोधितः पाटलिपुत्रवासम् ॥ ९ ॥

(निःश्वस्य) तामेव शैशवकथामनुस्मरामि । तदा हि —

सज्जदः कवची शरासनधरस्तातो रुषा प्रोषितो
जाता धौतकपोलपत्रलतिका बाष्पाम्बुभिर्मातरः ।

एकाकी चलकाकपक्षविभवो नीतोऽस्म्यहं तापसै-

मिथ्येव प्रतिभाति शैशवकथा स्वप्नो नु माया नु मे ॥ १० ॥

अथ वा कृतमनया कातरजनोचितया निपातोदन्तचिन्तया । तेजस्विनो हि पुरुषस्य सम्पदुद्योतनप्रतिपक्षभूता विपदपि न च्छायेव परिहरति पार्श्वम्, न पुनरुदाराः परिहीयन्ते । कुतः—

ध्वस्तः सुन्दरपाटलो निपतितः कार्यायनः शक्तितः

प्राप्तं भैरवमन्धकारगहनं प्रद्योतकारागृहम् ।

तेजोराशिरवाप्तवानुदयनस्तैस्तैरुपायक्रमैः

कौशाम्बीं च सुयामुनं च विजयी भूयोऽपि वत्सेश्वरः ॥ ११ ॥

भोः पाटलिपुत्रगतमन्त्रगुप्तदूतप्रतिप्रेषणावधिकमपि काललेशमत्रैव तिष्ठन्नप्रति-
प्रसरवन्ध्यममर्षं धारयितुं न शक्नोमि । (निमित्तं सूचयित्वा) किं नु खलु
स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः !

स्वजने शोकसन्तप्ते प्राप्तैश्वर्येष्वरातिषु ।

नाद्यापि धनुरादत्ते बाहुर्वामेतरो मम ॥ १२ ॥

(शब्दं रूपयित्वा) को नु खल्वेष कमलमधुपानमत्तकलहंसनिर्भरो निनादः
श्रूयते? अथ वा नेदं कलहंसविरुत्तम् । कुतः—

काञ्चीकलशोन्मिश्रं पादक्रमविलम्बितः ।

मञ्जुवाचामिदं मन्ये मञ्जु मञ्जीरन्निञ्जितः ॥ १३ ॥

भवतु, शब्दानुसारेण चक्षुर्विक्षिपामि । (तथा कृत्वा) अये! पल्लवितमिव
जीवलोकं पश्यामि । का नु खल्वेषा परिमितपरिवारा तारागणपरिवृता शशा-
ङ्गलेखेव लक्ष्यते कुमारी ?

वामोऽस्य रजातां विदुरुजघनापूर्वशीं विश्वयोनेः

सीतां संश्रित्वा श्रियमपि मथिताद- राधकमन्ति ।

प्रश्नोऽङ्कः ।

न त्वस्या जन्म जाने जननयनम् स्पन्दिनी कान्तिलक्ष्मी-
मध्येवेदि प्रसूतां द्रुपददुहितरं वेदिमध्यां वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति ससखीगणा कीर्तिमती काञ्चुकीयश्च)

का— इत इतो भवती ।

की— हला णिउणिए, किं णु खु पसणं विअ मे हिअअं ?

(हला निपुणिके, किं नु खलु प्रसन्नमिव मे हृदयम् ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, भअवदीए भत्तजणाणुकंपिणीए पादवंदणं करिअ णिग्गदासि,
कीस ण पसणं होइ दे हिअअं ?

(भर्तृदारिके, भगवत्या भक्तजनानुकम्पिन्याः पादवन्दनं कृत्वा निर्गतासि, कथं
न प्रसन्नं भवति ते हृदयम् ?)

की— जुचं तुए भणिदं, सोढव्ववेदणं दाणिं मे तादस्स अंबाए अ विओअदुक्खं
भअवदीदंसणेण ।

(युक्तं त्वया भणितम्, सोढव्यवेदनमिदानीं मे तातस्याम्बायाश्च वियोगदुःखं
भगवतीदर्शनेन).

नि— अइरादो पसादं वि दंसइस्सदि भअवदी ।

(अचिरात् प्रसादमपि दर्शयिष्यति भगवती).

कु — सर्वथा मकरकेतुमन्तरेण नास्याः समुत्पत्तिं पश्यामि । तथा हि —

सर्गान्तराणि सकलान्यतिवर्तमान-

मस्या वपुर्न खलु शिल्पफलं विधातुः ।

शङ्के वृषाङ्कविजयाय मनोभवेन

तप्तस्य सोऽयमनघस्तपसो विपाकः ॥ १५ ॥

की— कोकिलकंठराअकोमलगीदिसदो चडुलपदाआणिबहो कंचणाणिमिदो किं एस
पासादो ? (कोकिलकण्ठरागकोमलगीतिशब्दः चटुलपताकानिवहः काञ्चननि-
र्भितः किमेष प्रसादः ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, णस्वि एत्थ पासादो, एसो खु कुसुममञ्जरीपुञ्जपिञ्जराजसाहास-
हस्सो मंदपवर्णदोकिअपल्लवपुडो महुअरमहुसस्रज्जणोहरो असोअरुक्खो ।

कौमुदीमहोत्सवः

पुदिषा वचाद । दार्णि पमजवणपावपाणं समिद्धी । (मर्तुदारिके, नास्त्यत्र
मासादः, एष सल्ल कुसुममञ्जरीपुञ्जापिञ्जरितशाखासहस्रो मन्दपवनान्दोलित-
पल्लवपुटो मधुकरमधुरोल्लापमनोहरोऽशोकवृक्षः । एतेन प्रत्यादिष्टो इदानीं
प्रमद एतद्विषयः समृद्धिः).

की— हंजे, अत्थि किं इमस्स सुहसीदलं तलच्छाआमण्डलं ?

(हंजे, आत्स किमेतस्य सुखशीतलं तलच्छायामण्डलम् ?

नि— को एत्थ संदेहो ? (कोऽत्र सन्देहः ?)

की— कहं तुवं दूरगदा जाणिस्ससि ? (कथं त्वं दूरगता जानासि ?)

नि— आकिदिप्पच्चएण भणामि । जइ अत्थि तदो किं ?

(आकिदिप्पच्चएण भणामि । यद्यस्ति ततः किम् ?)

की— उंमत्तिए, परिस्संतो जणो विस्समं लभेदि ।

(उन्मत्ते, परिश्रान्तो जनो विश्रमं लभते).

नि— अंअ, परिस्संता भट्टिदारिआ । (आर्य, परिश्रान्ता भर्तृदारिका).

का— योः परिश्रान्ता सिद्धायतनेषु वाहनारोहणातिक्रमः परिहरणीय इति पादचार-
प्रवृत्ता भर्तृद्विहाता । देवि, मुहूर्तमस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरघश्च्छायायामुपवि-
शामः, स्वयमेवोपकल्पितमावासस्थानमन्तःपुराधिकृतः सिंहलको निवेदयिष्यति ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

कु — संप्रति चरितार्थं चक्षुः—

✓ पादौ पल्लवकोमलौ करिकरश्रीचोरमूरुद्रयं

विस्तीर्णं जघनस्थलं तनुतरो मध्यः स्तनावुभतौ ।

बाहू चम्पकपुष्पदामरुचिरौ पूर्णेन्दुकल्पं मुखं

केम्बाः कुञ्चितमेचकाः नववधूरेषा वधूलक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥

(सर्वे कुमारं दृष्ट्वा संभ्रान्ताः)

का— महदिदमाकारबद्धं तेजः, यदस्य दर्शने बहुदिवसाविष्टितराजान्तःपुरस्यापि
प्राप्यताराजदर्शनस्येव शिथिलीभूतः सत्त्वाबहुम्भः । कोऽसाविति जिज्ञा-
समानोऽपि नैनमनुषोद्धातः प्रष्टुमुत्सहे । सर्वथा तावत्—

प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

कणार्त्तविश्रान्तविलोचनभी-

ज्याधातेत्वारचितमकोः ।

वेजोनिधिर्नमसौ कुमारः

कुलस्य सारोद्धरणं नृपाणः ॥ १७ ॥

कु — स्वागतमत्रभवतः, अत्र पूर्वोपविष्टा वयम्, तदिहास्यतां भवतीभिः ।

विन्ध्याद्रिगन्धगजदानसुगन्धयोऽमी

पम्पासरःसलिलवीचिविमर्दशीताः ।

श्रोणीपयोधरसमुद्ग्रहनप्रवृत्तं

मार्गश्रमं व्यपनयन्तु पद्मजः ॥ १८ ॥

(सर्वे उपविष्टाः)

नि— (जनान्तिकम्) भट्टिदारिण, किं पु पुणमासीचंदमंडलादो विअ इमस्स मुहादो
अमुअरसनिस्संदो निस्सरइ ? (भर्तृदारिके, किं नु पौर्णमासीचन् मण्डलादेव
एतस्य मुखादमृतरसनिष्यन्दो निःसरति ?)

की— (आत्मगतम्) एतं पक्खंतस्स वि जणस्स चंदसिलामअं विअ अमुअरसनि-
स्संदणिअमं होइ हिअअं । (प्रकाशम्) हला, अगदो होइ । (एतदन्तरं
मेवमाणस्याऽऽ) जनस्य चन्द्रशिलामयमिवामृतरसनिष्यन्दो भवति हृदयम् ।
(प्रकाशम्) हला, अग्रतो भव ।

नि— अपुरुवपुरुसदंसणेण ण वड्ढाविदा भट्टिदारिआ । (तथा कृत्वा) (अपवारित-
केन सस्मितम्) अइ, परिहरइ चंददंसणं कमणिं सि सच्चो दाणिं कोअप्प-
वादो । (अपूर्वपुरुषदर्शनेन न वर्धापिता(?)) भर्तृदारिका । (तथा कृत्वा)
(अपवारितकेन सस्मितम्) अयि, परिहरति चन्द्रदर्शनं कमकिनीति सत्य
इदानीं लोकप्रवादः ।

की— (भ्रुकुटीकुटिलनिरीक्षितकेण निपुणिकां पश्यति) ।

कु — आर्य, आन्वर्षदक्षं हि कुतूहलस्थानं तदुच्यते । आकृतिप्रत्ययादेवास्या राज-
वंशाभिजनत्वमनारूपातनिश्चितम् ; किं तु—

कौमुदीमहोत्सवः

सा राजपुत्री सुसूहीतनाम्नां
किंनामधेयं कुलमीश्वरान्तरम् ।

अन्वग्रहीज्जन्ममहोत्सवेन

श्रीरेव साक्षादिव सागराणाम् ॥ १९ ॥

का— श्रोतुमर्हति महाभागः । अस्ति शूरसेनो नाम जनपदः । तेषां स्वामी विख्या-
तकीर्तिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः,

अन्ये मन्युमहाभुजङ्गमितरे नीतिग्रहावग्रहं

प्राप्य प्राञ्जलयोऽपरे बलरजोवेतालरूढा दिशः ।

तन्त्रावापविदो नरेन्द्रपदवीं यातस्य यस्याधिकं

रक्षाः प्रतिमिवोद्वहन्ति शिरसा श्रीपादधूलीर्नृपाः ॥ २० ॥

कु — श्रूयते शूरसेनाधिपतिः कीर्तिषेणो देव । स इदानीं मध्यमो मध्यमलोकपाला-
नाम् । ततस्ततः ।

का — ततस्तस्येयमेका दुहिता प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी कीर्तिमती नाम ।

कु — हिमवतो ननु गङ्गा प्रभवति । किमर्थं पुनरिदानीम्—

हर्म्याग्रसञ्चरणदुर्ललितौ पुरे द्वौ

मञ्जीरिमञ्जुरवशिञ्जितराजहंसौ ।

धत्तः पदं मुनिवने मनुजेन्द्रपुत्र्याः

प्रौढप्ररूढकुशकण्टकसीम्नि पादौ ॥ २१ ॥

का— एतदपि श्रूयताम् । सेयमपर्याप्तशैशवक्रीडारसैव—

यौवनारम्भयोगेन शोभामसदृशीं गता ।

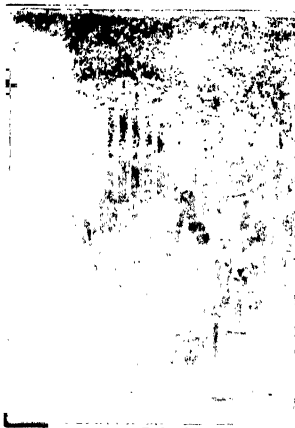
शिश्वागुणविशेषेण सूरैरिव सरस्वती ॥ २२ ॥

कु — ततस्ततः ।

का— ततो यत् प्रतिपन्नयौवनासु पितृभिः प्रतिपत्त्यं तद्भगवत्यनुमतेनैव वर्त्मना—
इति कृतनिश्चयः स्वयमेव दुहितरं 'चण्डिकायतनं गत्वा कानिचिदहान्याराध-
यत्' मगध्वतीं विन्ध्यवासिनीम्' इति सामिसरामेनामितः प्रेषितवान् यदुनायः ।
अदं तव ।

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THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL OF TELUGU LITERATURE

By JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU B.A., B.L.

There could hardly be any person pretending to know anything of Telugu Literature, who is not familiar with the name of "Vijaya Vilasamu". But very few indeed are these who know that that great poem was composed at Tanjore and fewer still are those who know that it represents an extensive branch of Telugu Literature which was created in the Tamil country. Few even in well informed circles had an adequate idea of either the volume or the character of this literature until the Telugu Academy had the good fortune to secure the bulk of it in manuscript for its library a few years ago. We owe this literature to the earlier generations of Telugu people who emigrated to the Tamil Districts under the auspices of the Telugu Naik Kings who ruled the south first, as the servants of the Vijianagar Emperors, and afterwards as independent Sovereigns. The Vijianagar Empire was founded in the beginning of the 14th Century A.D., out of the ruins of the Hoysala kingdom, for the purpose of stemming the tide of the Muhammadan invasion of the south, which it succeeded in doing for nearly three centuries. By this time, the Muhammadans who had established themselves in Northern India for some centuries, had gradually extended their conquests down to the Krishna river, having recently occupied the whole of the Mahratta kingdom of Devagiri and a great part of the Andhra kingdom of Warangal. The Hoysala kingdom south of the Krishna was also invaded and shaken to its foundation, and it seemed a matter of months for the Hindu kingdoms in the south to be wiped out of existence. This was prevented by the rise of the little kingdoms of Karnata which, in a surprisingly

short time developed into the great Vijianagar Empire. Before this solid dam was erected, a wave of the Muhammadan flood had escaped to the south and reached Madura and that city became the Capital of a Muhammadan pricipality. Bukka, one of the founders of the empire, deputed his son Kampa who drove the foreigners out and added the Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms to his father's empire, so that Bukka could call himself the lord of the eastern, western and southern seas. A very interesting, though romantic, account of Kampa's expedition against Madura is given in the Sanskrit poem "Madura Vijayam" composed by Kampa's Concubine Ganga. The poem gives a very woeful account of Madura under the Muhammadan rule and sums it up thus;

The Vedas are gone, principles have disappeared, all talk of Dharma is at an end, character has fallen, virtue is non-existent, nobility has disappeared—only Kali is in the ascendance. This verse gives a clue to the motive underlying the foundation of the Vijianagar Empire, which was to preserve Hindu Dharma from being submerged and destroyed by the deluge of Muhammadanism. The conflict between the Hindus and the Muhammadans was essentially a conflict of Cultures in a more real sense than is the present conflict of European nations. For, there is much more in common between the Latin and Teutonic Cultures than there is between the Aryan and Semitic Cultures. To appreciate the force of this motive, it is not necessary to believe all that the contending nations said against each other. Each no doubt, exaggerated the faults of the other. But there is, even now, a great deal of difference in the modes of life of the two peoples and in the relations between nations, this matters much more than principles of higher morality and philosophy. We have been taught, in school histories written by Europeans, to think that personal ambition was the only motive which led to the rise and fall of kingdoms in India and that ideas of patriotism and love of culture were foreign to the Indian soil. It would be easy to prove that this is a sweeping statement and that, in any case, it does not apply to the founding of the greatest and latest South Indian Empire, but that would be a digression.

We have seen that the Tamil country became subject to the rule of the Karnata kings at a very early date, but it continued to be governed by the hereditary Chola and Pandya Princes who acknowledged the overlordship of the Karnata kings. This state of things continued until the time of Achyuta Deva Raya. We learn from "Achyutarayabhyudayam" that this king led a great expedition against the south chiefly with the object of reducing the independence of Travancore. This expedition resulted also in a radical change in the government of the Chola and Pandya kingdoms, The rule of the

hereditary princes was put an end to and the provinces were formally incorporated into the empire and thenceforward governed by Naiks or Governors appointed by the Emperor. There were two governorships thus created; one for the Chola province with the capital at Tanjore and the other for the Pandya kingdom with Madura as the capital. The country round about Trichinopoly was governed by an hereditary chieftain the Tondiman, subject to the authority of the Naik of Madura. Although the first Naiks were presumably appointed to hold office at the pleasure of the Emperor, not only did the office soon become hereditary in their families but on the downfall of the empire after the battle of Talikota, the Naiks became independent although nominally they continued to the last to acknowledge the suzerainty of the head of the ever dwindling empire. The Naiks were Telugu men and under their auspices, a very large body of Telugu men of all classes emigrated to the Tamil country and thus introduced Telugu language and Telugu culture there. The Tondimans of Trichinopoly and Pudukota were Tamilians but they somehow imbibed a love for Telugu literature and extended enthusiastic patronage to it. Thus it came about that the courts of Tanjore, Madura and Trichinopoly became centres of Telugu learning and culture and I propose to state briefly what contributions each of these centres made to Telugu literature. The Telugu Academy has discovered no less than 50 works composed by about 33 authors all in the south.

The founder of the Tanjore dynasty was Chevva or Chinna Chevva Naik who married a sister of his sovereign Achyuta Deva Raya's queen Tirumalamba and perhaps owed his elevation to that circumstance. He was succeeded by his son Achuta Naik and he by his son Raghunatha Naik. Raghunadha seems to have been a great prince—the greatest of his dynasty. He was a great patron of learning. His court was the meeting place of scholars and poets from different parts of the country. To him we owe the nucleus of the famous Tanjore Palace library which was considerably improved by the later Mahratta kings—notably Serfeji. In that library, there are two Telugu manuscripts called "*Raghunadhabhyudayanamu*"—one in the dvipada metre and the other a drama—which afford glimpses of the literary activities of Raghunadha's court. Both these books were composed by Raghunadha's son and successor Vijiaraghava and purport to be a biography (a romantic one no doubt) of the author's father. From the drama which is said to have been enacted in the Royal theatre in the presence of Raghunadha himself, we learn that the king was in the habit of holding literary durbars at which men as well as women competed with one another in literary feats; on one occasion we are told, the king asked the male poets to set *Samasyas* to the young ladies present, in Telugu, Sanskrit, or Prakrit as the

ladies were very desirous of completing these *Samasyas*. Thereupon, a poet set a Telugu *Samasya*, which was extempore completed by *Ramabhadramma*.

Another lady named Sukavani set a Sanskrit *Samasya* and completed it.

Another book gives the names of 7 women poets attached to this court. Judging from their names and other circumstances these ladies were presumably of the courtesan class. They seem to have been not only poetesses but also actresses. The palace library contains no less than 225 Telugu dramas composed not on the Sanskrit model but in the Yakshagana pattern and several of those purport to have been composed by Raghunadha himself. There was a Royal theatre in which these dramas were played in the king's presence. The author of "*Vijiavilasamu*" tells us that Raghunadha took great interest in in theatricals. Indeed, dramatic literature seems to have been specially encouraged by the Tanjore court as prose literature was by the court of Madura.

Besides being a great patron of poets, Raghunadha was himself a poet and composed several dramas. He was also the author of an epic poem called "*Valmiki-charitram*", But that which more than anything else will keep his memory ever green is "*Vijiavilasamu*" composed by Chemakura Venkata Raju and dedicated to Raghunadha. This poem is a gem and is deservedly popular wherever Telugu is understood. It is a very fine specimen of Prabandha literature which was inaugurated by Allasani Peddana at the court of Krishna Deva Raya. It does not perhaps come up to the level of "*Manucharitramu*" in simple dignity or of "*Vasucharitramu*" in grandeur but it is easily at the head of a class of Prabandhams which is only next to the highest class. Chemakura Venkata Raju is also the author of another poem called "*Sarangadhara Charitramu*" which does not enjoy the same popular esteem, however, as "*Vijiavilasamu*".

Raghunadha's son Vijiaraghava Naik surnamed Mannarudasa was like his father, a poet as well as a patron of poets. We have seen that he was the author of the dvipada "*Raghunadhabhyudayamu*" as well as of a dramatic version of it.

He was the hero of "*Vijiaraghava Vamsavali*" by Chengalva Kālanārya of Kalahasti of *Vijiaraghava Kirtichandrika Viharamu* by Kamarsu Venkatapathi Somayaji and of *Mannarudasavilasamu* by Rangajamma. Rangajamma describes herself as the daughter of Pasupuleti Venkatadri and his wife Mangamamba. She calls king Vijiaraghava Naik her Prana Nayaka. She mentions the names of six other female poets at the court. They seem to have been all of the courtesan class. Rangajamma claims ability to write poetry in eight languages (Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six Prakrits) and also proficiency

in recitation (Vachaka) and beautiful handwriting. i. e. two literary arts which have been always held in great esteem in India.

Vijiaraghava was the last of his dynasty in descent and also in capacity and it was on his invitation that the Mahrattas went to Tanjore originally to help him against local enemies but finally to supplant him. The Mahratta kings, instead of neglecting the Telugu literature as they might have been expected to do, seem to have encouraged it almost as much as the Telugu Naiks. For, we find Ekoji claiming the authorship of a *dvipada* version of the Ramayanam which is dedicated to his father Tulevji after the fashion of *Ranganadharamayanamu*, while we owe the highly erotic poem "*Radhikasantvanamu*" to Muddu Palani who was a concubine of Ekoji's son and Successor Pratapasimha, Serfiji who, I believe, was the penultimate king of Tanjore, greatly enriched the library started by Raghunadha Naik. Some of the manuscripts bear labels to the effect that they were secured for the library under the orders of Varahappayya Dikshitulu. I am told that Varahappayya Dikshitulu was a Veginati Brahmin and a Fouzdar or a military officer under Serfoji and that a grandson of his bearing the same name is a District Registrar in the Pudukota state.

It is not possible to leave Tanjore without referring to the great devotee and musical composer Tyagaraja. He was a Telugu Brahman. I was told that he belonged to the Mulikinadu sect and a resident of Tiruvadi. His is the greatest name in the south Indian Musical world and his name songs which were composed in Telugu, are undisputedly the best in all this country. I do not think that a very high degree of excellence can be claimed for them from a purely literary point of view but by making Telugu the vehicle for the outpourings of his heart, Tyagaraja has rendered no less service to that language than the great masters of Telugu poetry. Indeed, Tyagaraja's services are even greater, in a sense, for, while *Bhâratamu*, *Bhâgavatamu*, and other classics can only be read and appreciated by those who know Telugu, Tyagaraja's kritis are sung and enjoyed by hundreds nay thousands of persons who do not know a word of their language. Tyagaraja has made Telugu the lingua franca of the musical world and has thereby done something to justify the claim of Telugu to be the best of the Vernaculars, at least in one respect.

Leaving Tanjore, we ought to go straight to Madura which was the capital of the second Naik kingdom but we shall tarry a while at Trichinopoly—the capital of the Tondimans—where also we have somewhat to see and note. The Tondimans were and are Tamilians by race and had no special reason to care for Telugu: but, somehow, they seem to have caught the prevailing enthusiasm for Telugu literature and one of them Rayaraghunadha Tondiman was the author

of a poem named "*Parvatiparinayam*". Raghunadha was no doubt assisted in his literary ventures by his court poet Nudurupati Venkanna to whom we owe no less than five works. The greatest of those is the "*Andhra Bhāsharnavam*" (a metrical nighantu) of the Telugu language, compiled on the model of Amarakosa and dedicated to Mātrubhūtsvara. This I believe, is the most exhaustive dictionary of the language and is deservedly popular in the whole of Telugu country. I have seen manuscripts of the book as far north as Vizagapatam. Venkanna was the author also of a book on poetics called "*Raghunādhīyam*" written on the lines of *Narasabhupaliyam*. He projected a history of the Tondiman family and completed the first twenty generations. His son Sāmba Kavi undertook to bring the account up to his date but it is not known whether he completed the work, for, all the three manuscripts available in the library of the Telugu Academy are incomplete. This book throws some—many side-lights on the Carnatic wars between the English and the French in which the Tondimans fought on the side of the English. Nudurupāti Venkanna calls his father Seethāramayya a great poet and his son Samba Kavi and grandson Venkayya have both left works behind them: so there were at least four generations of poets in this talented family of whom Venkanna was the most illustrious.

The contributions of Madura to Telugu literature are even greater than those of Tanjore. The greater part of this literary activity occurred in the time of Vijiaranga Chokkanadha the penultimate king of Madura who ruled from 1704 to 1731. The most famous poem of his period is the "*Tārāsānka Vijiamu*" by Seshamu Venkatapati. It is dedicated to Chokkanadha's minister Vengala Seenayya. The theme of this poem is the well-known puranic story of the illicit love between Chandra and Tara. The poem is on the whole happily conceived and skilfully executed. "*Yuvajanahridaya-nandamu*" is a slightly different version of the same story by Baddēpūdi Errabhūpāludu who tells us that he belonged to the Pantakula and was honoured by Vijiaranga Chokkanadha. Another poem of the same tenour is "*Ahalyāsankrandanamū*" by Samukhamu Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka who was a friend and courtier and perhaps also a relative of Vijia Ranga; and to him we owe also a small poem called "*Rādhikāsāntvanamu*" which is different from Muddu Palani's work of the same name. Baddēpūdi Errabhūpāludu has mentioned his Guru Rāvuri Ananta Yajva to whom we owe four poems:—

1. Srikrishna Mahatmyamu.
2. Vridhāchala Mahatmyamu.
3. Gādhēyōpākhyānamu.
4. Sivarahasyakhandamu.

A special and interesting feature of the Madura school is prose literature. Vijiaranga Chokkanadha is himself the author of two prose works—*Srīrangamahatmyamu* and *Māghamahatmyamu*. Samukham Venkatakrishnappa wrote, in addition to the poems already noted, two prose books viz., *Jaiminibhāratamu*, and *Sāranga-dharacharitramu*.

Tupakula Anantabhūpaludu who says he gave away several aghaharams on the banks of the Kaveri, Vēgāvati, (Vaigai) and Tamraparni is the author of no less than four books viz.. prose versions of Vishnu purānamu, Rāmāyanamu, Bhāgavatamu, and Bhāratamu in the last of which he was assisted by Virarāju son of Dalavay Doddendra. *Hālasyamāhatmyamu* is another elaborate prose book dealing with the mythology of Madura and was composed by Nanjarāju who is also the author of another prose work called "*Harabhaktavilāsamu*".

We have two more versions of the Ramayanam, one by Syamarayakavi and another by one Venkatasubbayya. Altogether, there is quite a wealth of prose works. These works of varying degrees of literary merit. Samukham Venkata Krishnappa Naik's *Jaimini Bharatamu* is certainly the best of them and the Telugu Academy has been enabled to publish it by the munificence of Dewan Bahadur V. Ramabhadra Naidu Garu whose family was related by blood and marriage to that of the author.

While on the subject of prose works, I should not omit to mention the name of the interesting book called "*Rayavachakamu*". It purports to be a report submitted to Visvanadha Naik by his ambassador (Sthanapathi) at the court of Vijianagaram and gives a summary of the traditional account of the foundation of the Vijianagaram Empire and of its state during the times of the great king Krishna Deva Raya and the various reforms he introduced into the administration. It also gives a somewhat realistic account of the two great military expeditions of Krishna Deva Raya's time viz., the expedition against the Muhammadans resulting in the siege of and conquest of Raichors and the expedition against the Kalinga country. The book cannot be regarded as a contemporaneous record of the events it describes but it was written not very long afterwards and throws considerable new light on the story of Krishna Raya's reign. It was, I believe, the original of Kumara Dhurjati's "*Srī Krishnarayavijayamu*". From the literary point of view Rayavachakamu is chiefly useful as preserving a specimen of Telugu colloquial idiom which was current in the Tamil country in those days. The book has been published in the journal of the Telugu Academy and it is proposed to republish in a book form with historical notes. .

One more great Telugu poet of the south was Ganapavarapu Venkatapathi, the author of *Lakshanasiromani* and *Prabandharaja Vijayavenkatesvara vilasamu*.

Poet Seenayya of Tiruchendore wrote a remarkable poem called "*Shanmukhasahasramu*". It consists of one thousand verses addressed to God Subrahmanya and divided into ten sections. Each section dealing with separate theme.

Anantarangaratchandamu is a short treatise on Telugu prosody by Kasturi Ranga Kavi and dedicated to Dupleix's famous Dubash Ananda Ranga Pillai.

This bird's eye view is, I trust, sufficient to show that in the latter part of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries of the christian era, there spread in the Tamil Districts a wave of enthusiastic love of Telugu language and literature which was not confined to the Andhras. This love led to the creation of a large volume of literature the distinguishing feature of which as compared with what I may call the northern school of Telugu literature may be roughly stated as follows:—

To start with, we see comparatively more non-brahmanas amongst the poets of the south than of the north. A review of the Dravidian literatures shows that they have as a whole, been neglected by the Brahmins who cared more for Sanskrit. Tamil literature is I imagine, mainly the work of non-brahmans. (I make this statement subject to correction). Canarese literature can be divided into three distinct periods of which the first was the creation of the Jains, the second of the Lingayats, and the third and more recent one of the Brahmins. The case of the Telugu literature is different, it is mainly the work of Brahmins, rather one section of Brahmins with some notable exceptions such as the "*Vasucharitramu*" of Bhattumurthi, and the "*Amuktamalyada*" of Krishnadeva Raya. The non-brahmin element was very much larger in the south where the princes and their courtiers freely competed with those whom we may perhaps call professional poets. We see also more women poets in the south than in the north. From the point of view of the form of literature, the southern school exhibits two distinguishing features—viz., dramatic literature and prose literature. The former was chiefly cultivated at Tanjore and the latter at Madura. The Telugu dramas are not composed on the Sanskrit model but follow a plan of their own. They may not come up to a high standard of literary merit but they have a distinct value of their own in the evolution of Telugu literature. The prose literature of the south is not all of uniform merit. There are some very good pieces in it while the rest are written in more or less colloquial idioms which they have thus preserved.

If it is permissible to distinguish between the classical and Romantic schools of Telugu literature, the literature of the south must be assigned to the Romantic school.

The writers of the south cared for effect more than for form and, in their attempt to produce effect, they sometimes deviated from the strict standard of purity of diction as well as of taste set by the earlier poets. It is to this cause, I think, that we should attribute most of the grammatical lapses which are met with even in such poems as the *Vijayavilasamu* and the somewhat extra erotic character of some poems—especially those of the Madura school.

This is not unnatural when a large body of people emigrate to a foreign country and settle there, it is inevitable that they should in course of time, differ from the people of the old country both in language and in habits. The Englishman in America is not exactly the same as the Englishman of England and the English idiom in America is different in several respects from the idioms of the United-Kingdom. I believe the Andhras are, as a class, tenacious of their language as well as of their culture; but the influence of the ideals of the old country was bound to be less and less effective on the Andhras in the Tamil country as time went on. It is, however, to their credit that Telugu still prevails largely in the Tamil country though in a spoken form.

SULAKAS AND MULAKAS

By S. SRIKANTA SASTRI, M. A.

The identification of Sulakas with Chalikas put forward by Rev. Mr. Heras seems to me untenable. Mere word-resemblances, unsupported by other facts, cannot be accepted as conclusive. As instances of this deceptive method we can put forward the resemblances between Sulakas and Salikis, Salkis etc. Salki, Chalukya, Salikya etc., are used as variants of the same word Chalukya e. g. in the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla; speculations as to the origin and exact connotation of the term mulaka as found in the name of an Andhra community "Mulaka Nadu," are too numerous to mention. Reference might be made to two of such theories put forward to show the futility of such linguistic gymnastics. One theory is that it derives its name from "Mulks", Ibrahim Mulk and his descendents; the other is that it ought to be Munikula Nadu. Both of these, to put it mildly, are fanciful.

Mulaka is mentioned in the Jatakas along with Assaka. The Assakas again must be differentiated from Aswakas, a term some times applied to the western Kshatrapas as Skandasishya is said to have taken the Ghatika of Kanchi from one Satyasena an Assaka. Asmaka was one of the eighteen earliest Janapadas mentioned in Buddhist literature. Panini mentions Asmaka (iv. 1. 173). In the Baveru Jataka, we are told that the disciples started from the Asmaka country to Mahissati, Ujjeni, Paithana of Mulaka country, Gonaddha, Vidisa, Vanasa, Havya, Kosambi, Saketa, Savatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatho, Kusinara, Pava, Vesali, and finally to Asmaka Chetya where the Buddha was residing. Avanti was evidently North of Assaka as they are spoken of together in Anguttara Nikaya and Sona Nanda Jataka. To the south there was the Mulaka country. Assaka and Mulaka like Kasi and Kosala were probably tribal names which gradually became identified with the country the tribes occupied from time to time. At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Assakeni were to be found in the North-west also.

Assaka is always found connected with Mulaka in the early Pali Literature which distinguishes between Assaka with its capital Patna or Potali, mulaka with its capital Paittana and Kalinga with its capital Dantipura. Thus we can exactly locate Assaka—to the north Avanti, to the East Kalinga and to the South Mulaka. In the Maha Govinda Sutta, Brahmadatta of Assaka is mentioned as the contemporary of Satta Bahu of Kalinga, Vessa Bahu of Avanti,

Bharata of Souvira, Renu of Videha, Dasaratha of Anga and Dasaratha of Kasi. The *Mahabharata* contains the legend of one Asmaka who ruled at Podani,

"Asmakō nāma rajarshih

Poudanyām yō nivesayēt" ||

In the *Chulla Kalinga Jataka*, a king of Assaka and his minister Nandisena are spoken of as having won a victory over Kalinga. Potali is once spoken of as having been under the Suzerainty of Kasi. The *Yayū Purāṇa* speaks of Asmaka and Mulaka as scions of the Ikshvaku line. The *Purāṇas* in general, speak of the Andhras Asmakas, and Mulakas as Mlechhas.

Andhrāḥ sakāḥ Pulindāscha

Mulikāyavan āsthathā !

Kaivartābhīra Sabarah

Yēchanyē mlechha sambhavah !

Teshāmparē Janapadah

Dakshināpatha vāsīnah !

Kārushācha sahaishikah

Atabhyā Subarāstathā !

Pulindah vindhya Pushikah

Vaidarbhā Dandakaissahā ||

(Matsya Purāṇa)

The Sankhyayana Srāuta sūtra mentions Mutibas one of the numerous variants of the name Mulika, the others being Muchiba Muchipa, Muvipa, Mushaka, Mushika, Mulaka, Chuchuka, Chulika Sulika etc.

Abhirah saha chai shikah

Atabhyā ssabarascha yē !

Pulindah vindhya mulika

Vaidarbhā Dandakaissahā ||

(Vayū Purāṇa)

Dakshināpatha Janmānah

Sarvē naravarandhrakah !

Guhah pulindah chuchuka

Sabarah Madrakai ssahā ||

(Mahabharata XII)

Though the name Asmaka is not to be found after Christian Era, the names Mulaka and Mulaka Nadu as a part of Andhra country occur in inscriptions down to the sixteenth century. In the Nasik Inscription of Balasri, Asaka and Mulaka are mentioned together.

"Asika Asaka Mulaka Suratha kukurā paranta

Anupa vidabha Akaravati Rajasa"

(Epi. Ind. VIII)

The Mushakas are also mentioned in the Kharavela Inscription (J. B. O. R. S. 1917). Bhagavanlal Indraji identified Mulakas

with Nundakas. Senart however denies the identification of Assakas with the Arsakidae and thinks they are the same as Rishikas mentioned in the Mahabharata.

Kambhojah Rishikāyecha

Paschimanupa Kaschaye ||

Later on, under the Chalukyas, the country is called Vengi-Mulaka Nadu, Isanavarman is also credited with having defeated both the Andhras and Sulikas. (Jitvandrādhīpatim.....Bhanktvārāṇa Sulikan), who were evidently neighbours. An inscription at Rameswara in the Proddatur Taluk of the Kadapa District tells us that the Proddaturu sima and Chernuri sima were included in the Mulaka Nadu, a sub-division of Gandikota sima a part of Udayagiri Rajya. Later on, in the days of Deva Raya II of Vijayanagara, Vinukonda Vallabhamatya—the patron of the poet Srinatha and author of Kridabhiramamu, was the ruler of Mopuru in Mulaka Nadu a sub-division of Udayagiri Rajya. However, unlike Velanadu which possessed a distinct line of rulers during the medieval days, Mulaka Nadu had no distinct political independence. But yet it preserved an individuality and integrity of its own because of the numerous far famed scholars in the community who commanded universal respect from all classes all over south India.

THE DATE OF NAIGHANTUKA DHANAÑJAYA

By S. E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIAR.

Chronology which is of paramount importance in the History of Culture, is a great stumbling block in the high-road of Indian History. That Dhanañjaya's date is dubious is no wonder, when we take into account the fact that the date of Kālidāsa, that most brilliant star in the firmament of Indian Poetry and one of the greatest of the world's "sons of song", is enshrouded in the deepest obscurity.

Let us grope our way through the 'terra-incognito' of Hindu chronology and arrive at the date of Dhanañjaya, the auother of the "Dvisāndhāna Mahākāvya" (otherwise known as "Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya") and the "Dhanañjayanighaṇṭu" (otherwise known as the "Nāmā-mālā") with the aid of literary and historical evidence, internal and external.

In Samskr̥t Literature, Subāndhu, author of the 'Vāsava-dattā', and Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, author of the 'Kādambari' and Harśa-caritā, are well known for their 'forte' in 'Śleṣa-kavitā' or poetry replete with 'double-entendre'. But neither of them was a 'Dvyarthi poet' (or one who can write a 'Kāvya' that yields a two-fold interpretation throughout, regarding two themes). Kavirāja (650-725 A. D.) author of the famous 'Rāghava Pāṇḍaviya' was practically the pioneer in the field of 'Dvyarthi Prabandhas'. Naighaṇṭika Dhanañjaya seconded him by writing the equally famous 'Dvisāndhāna Mahā Kāvya', which is a monument of poetic skill. We must not fail to note that Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya was not identical with the celebrated author of the 'Daśarūpaka'. We shall presently see that the former was prior to Rājasekhara (880—920 A. D.) author of 'Balaramayana, Kavyamimamsa' etc., while the latter was decidedly posterior to him.

Daśarūpaka Dhanañjaya was a Brāhmaṇa, son of Viṣṇu and a protege of king Munja, as can be attested by the following quotation:

“विष्णोः सुतेनापि धनञ्जयेन

विद्वन्मनोराग निबन्धहेतुः

आविष्कृतं मुञ्जमहीशगोप्ठी

वैदग्ध्यभाजा दशरूपमेतत्.”

If Muñja was the uncle of the glorious king Bhoja, which is beyond the possibility of cavil, Daśarūpaka Dhanañjaya must have flourished about 1000 A. D.

Prof. V. A. Smith opines in his 'Early History of India, (4th Ed. 1924) P. 410.

"The seventh Rāja, named Muñja (974—995 A. D.) who was famous for his learning and eloquence was not only a patron of poets, but himself a poet of no small reputation, as attested by the anthologies, which include various compositions attributed to his pen. The author Dhanañjaya and his brother Dhanika were among the distinguished scholars who graced his court".

But Naighantuka Dhanañjaya was a Jain and a son of Śrīdevī and Vasudeva, as can be seen from the last śloka of his 'Divsandhāna' (XVIII 146).

“ नीत्या योगुरुणा दिशोदशरथेनोपात्तवान् नन्दनः
श्रीदेव्या वसुदेवतः प्रतिजगन् न्यायस्य मार्गे स्थितः
तस्य स्थायि धनञ्जयस्य कृतितः प्रादुष्पदुच्चैर्यशो
गाम्भीर्यादि गुणापनोदविधिनेवाम्भोनिर्धो लघते ”

Prof. A. B. Keith writes: "A work of the same title (i. e., Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya) by Dhanañjaya is mentioned by a Rājasekhara and the date of it is dubious".

(‘Classical Samskr̥t Literature’ P. 56 Footnote).

From what has gone before and what is to follow, we can easily understand that Dhanañjaya in the above quotation was identical with the Naighantuka Dhanañjaya and Rājasekhara was the same as the author of 'Bālarāmāyana, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā' etc.

Here fortunately, we have internal as well as external evidence; we shall first consider the internal evidence:

“ प्रमाणमकलंकस्य पूज्यपादस्य लक्षणम्
द्विसन्धानकवेः काव्यं रत्नत्रयमपश्चिमम्

—Dhanañjaya's 'Nighaṇṭu'. II Pari 48 sl.

From this couplet we know that the 'Nyāsaśāstra' of Akalaṅka Bhāṭṭāra, the 'Vyākaraṇa' of Pūjyapāda Devanandī and the 'Dvisandhāna' (otherwise known as the 'Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya') of the Dvisandhāna Kavi i. e., Dhanañjaya are diamonds par excellence.

“ जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ शब्दः कविरिति स्मृतः

कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयश्चेति दण्डिनि

कवयः कवयश्चेति बहुत्वं दूरमागतम्

विनिवृत्तं चिरादेतत्कलौ जाते धनञ्जये. ”

—Dhanañjaya's 'Nighaṇṭu'. II 49; 50.

From these ślokas we are led to infer that there was a considerable distance of time between Daṇḍin (not later than 600 A. D.), and our Dhanañjaya.

The learned Editor, Mahāmahopādhyāya Sivadatta Sarma writes in his preface to the 'Dvisandhāna' (Kāvya—Mala, No. Bombay 18).

“ 884 खिस्तब्दपर्यन्तं कश्मीरान्पालयितुखन्तिवर्मणः समकालीनयोः ध्वन्यालोकनिर्मायिकानन्दवर्धन—हरचरितमहा काव्य रचयितु रत्नाकरयोः स्तावकस्य, 959 खिस्तब्द रचित यशस्तिलकचंपूनिर्मातृ जैनसोमदेवेन स्तुतस्य, बालरामायणाद्यनेक नाटकादि निर्मातृ राजशेखरस्यनाम्ना जल्हणादि संगृहीत सूक्तावल्यादिषु प्राचीनकविवर्णन श्लोकेषु (सूक्तिमुक्तावलि—सुभाषितहारावलोः)

द्विसन्धाने निपुणतां सतां. चक्रे धनंजयः

ययाजातं फलंतस्य सतां चक्रे धनंजयः

इत्युपलभ्यमानत्वेन 'राजशेखरकवेः प्राचीनो धनंजयकवि रासीत् इति. प्रकृतकाव्ये जैनसमयमात्रप्रसिद्धकथानां निबद्धत्वात् जैनः सः इतिच प्रतीयते. ”

“Thus the priority of Dhanañjaya to Rājasekhara has been established beyond any possibility of doubt. Till now we could only know that Dhanañjaya flourished between 600—880 A. D., far later than Daṇḍin and anterior to Rājasekhara.”

Let us now consider the indirect evidence; ¹ Kavirāja, author of 'Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya', writes the following couplet in his poem:

“ सुबन्धुर्वाणभट्ट कविराजइतित्रयः

वक्रोक्ति मार्गनिपुणा श्रुतुर्थोविद्यतेनवा. ”

—'Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya', I. 41.

THE DATE OF DHANANJAYA

In this couplet, Kavirāja pays a glorious but deserved encomium to his poetic predecessors, Subandhu and Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa. The purport of this couplet is that Subandhu, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa and himself (i. e., Kavirāja) were consummate adepts in 'Vakrokti'—'crooked saying' (i. e., they were experts in composing poetry replete with double-entendres—Slesa—or Vakrokti) and that there was none to compete with them in their 'forte'. From this, we conclusively understand that Kavirāja was later than Subandhu and Bāṇa (590—650 A. D.)

1. The date assigned by us to Kavirāja is 650-725 A. D., for there is a reference to 'Kavirāja' in the 'Kāvyaślankāra sūtravṛtti of Vāmana, who flourished in the 8th century. We are going to publish an article on the date of Kavirāja, in which the details are given.

As Kavirāja avowedly says that there is none (who is a वक्रोक्ति-मार्गनिपुणः) to compete with them in their 'forte', we are led to think that Kavirāja must have necessarily been anterior to Dhanañjaya, who is a worthy rival of Kavirāja in his 'forte'. The 'Dvisandhāna' is a triumph of skill; as such, if Kavirāja were acquainted with or aware of Dhanañjaya or his 'Dvisandhāna', he would have certainly alluded to him in the above couplet.

Some may refute this and say "Kavirāja alluded only to those poets who were adepts in 'Slesa-Kavitā' but not to ordinary poets who tried their hand at it, Dhanañjaya, in Kavirāja's opinion, might not have been a competent hand at 'Slesa-Kavitā' and this more than accounts for the latter's reticence concerning the former; and consequently this couplet will not in the least enable us in establishing the priority of Kavirāja to Dhanañjaya."

But we opine that nothing is farther from truth than this. The 'Dvisandhāna' of Dhanañjaya compels the admiration of even the most prejudiced critic; even a cursory perusal of the 'Dvisandhāna' will extort the praise of the reader that it is nothing but a monument of poetic excellence. It is in no way inferior to Kavirāja's "Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya", and perhaps (or certainly) better. Even the poets of the 9th century had a very high opinion of Dhanañjaya; for thus runs a couplet preserved in an anthology of those times.

“ कवे धनंजयस्येनं सक्तवीनां शिरोमणोः

प्रमाणं नाममालेति श्लोकानां च शतद्वयम् ”

“Even though some pessimists withhold the praise which Dhanañjaya deserves, saying that he has only spoken of himself in a strain of puffing self-advertisement without proper justification, we reply that their reflections suffer much in point of poetic insight, for the 'Dvisandhāna', (to reiterate) to an impartial and sober critic is simply admirable, having a very high level of poetic excellence. The reticence of Dhanañjaya concerning his poetic predecessor Kavirāja can be explained by the fact that Dhanañjaya neither alluded to nor praised any literary giants of old. We may even say, without any charge of untruth, that Dhanañjaya might not have heard of Kavirāja or of his Kāvya, because of the negligible distance of time between them, in those by-gone days.

Thus we see that Dhanañjaya was later than Kavirāja (650—725 A. D.) and prior to Rājasekhara (880—920 A. D.) and that there had been a considerable distance of time between Dandin (600 A. D.) and Dhanañjaya. Hence, we can reasonably fix the date of *Naighantuka* Dhanañjaya between 750—800 A. D.

THE SANTHA BOMVALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDA VARMMĀ

By SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Some years back, a resident of Sântâ Bomvâli, a village near Tekkali, in Ganjam District, discovered, while digging a ditch, a set of copper-plates, which was brought to my notice by a local Uriya pandit. So, on 10th Nov. 1927, I went to that village, read the plates, and got their rubbings without breaking the ring. The rubbings are torn on the left side, because the owner of the plates did not consent to break the ring.

The set contains the grant made by the Maharaja Nanda Varmmâ, son of Ananta Varmmâ, in Āshādha panchamī, at the time of Solar Eclipse, and it refers to 'Chikhallikâ grāma' which cannot be identified with any part of the locality. The grant was made in the "Pravarddhamāna Samvatsara 221" and bears a closer resemblance to the copper-plate grants of the Early Gangā kings of Kalinga.

The set contains 3 copper-plates, each measuring about 6" by 3". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only. The ring holding the plates is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the two portions of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of bull, Nandi Couchant. Round the Nandi, there are in the surface of the disc, the figures of Conch-shell, chouries etc. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The whole inscription contains 32 lines.

The alphabet employed belongs to the old Nāgari (Kutīlakshara) type and the characters are exactly like those found in the copper-plates of southern Kalinga (modern Ganjam and Vizag Dts.) used from the 9th to the 10th century A. D.

In the orthographical ground I would merely draw the attention to the following points:—

(1) The consonant after 'r' is generally doubled as in (a) sarvarttu; (b) Nanda Varmmâ (c) Śarmmonâ (d) Parvvana etc, (Lines 1, 15, 18, 22, 26-27 respectively)

(2) 'ch-chha' is used for 'tsa' (Line 31)

(3) Due to carelessness of the writer 'va' is not distinguished from 'ra' (Line 1)

(4) In many places, 'va' is used in the place of 'ba' and also 'bda' is used in the place of 'vda' (Line 10)

(5) There is a slight difference between 'ê-kârâ' and 'i-kârâ'; and also between 'mâ' and 'vva' (Line 1, 11)

(6) In certain places, anusvāra and 'visarga' symbols are omitted (Line 1, 29, 30, 28, 32, 3, 11, 5)

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, and is almost in prose, except the last two slokas quoted from 'Vyāsa-Samhita.'

(1) One peculiarity worthy of notice is that not a single word ending in 'Panchami-Vibhakti' (Fifth-case-ending) has been used throughout. I do not understand why that particular 'Vibhakti' is overlooked even in the following necessary places:—

(a) 'Svadānā phala mānāntya' (Line 28)

(b) 'Kalinga nagara vāsakā Mahēndrāchala' (Line 2)

(2) In one place 'ta' and 'sa' are combined together, where they ought not to be joined. Line 10)

(3) The Samdhi rule is not observed in two places for a word. Instead of 'Śrīmān = nandavarmmā simply 'Śrīmā = nanda Varmmā' is used (Line 15, 18)

(4) For 'Kaundīnyasa' there is used 'Kaunandīlyasa' (Line 21)

(5) I do not understand the real meanings of the following phrases:—

(a) Rājaputra Khālināmā bhūpatākah nivēsanasaḥitā (Line 19)

(b) Kapilamaṇḍapa yamali pollaviḥ (Line 20)

(6) The last letter of the third line is not readable.

The geneological table of this dynasty is not yet published, though many copper-plate grants of the kings of this Early Ganga dynasty have been discovered and published in various Historical magazines. With the help of some 25 copper-plates (Some of them are not published yet) I arranged a geneological table, which I hope will draw the attention of the Historians of Andhra and Utkal for its further development. In my next article, I wish to explain the basis on which I have arranged this geneological-table and also add a short note about the "Ganga Vamsa pravarddhamāna Vijayarāja Samvatsara."

TEXT

1st plate, 2nd side.

1. Om ¹ svasty = amara purânukârîṇa[h] Sarvvarthu sukha
ramanyâ—
2. [d] = vijaya vatah Kalinga nagara vâsakâ[n] = mahêmdrâ = chalâ =
3. mala Śikhara pratishṭa²tasya charâ = chara gurô[h] Sakala (×?)
4. bhuvana nirmmânaika sūtra dhârasya Śasamka chûḍâ—
5. maṇê[h] bhagavatô gokarṇṇa Svâminâś = charaṇa kama—
6. la yugala puṇyamâd = apâsta(?) sakala kali kalamkô
7. gangâ = mala kulôdbhava nija nistrimsô dhârô parjjita saka—
8. la kalingâ = dhi râjya pravitata chatur = udadhi taramgamêkha—

2nd plate, 1st side.

9. lā = vani ⁴ talā = mala yaśâ anaika ⁵ samkshôbha jani
10. to jaya Śabdah pratâpâ = vanatsamasta ⁶ sâmanata chakra—
11. chûḍâmani prabhâmanjari punja ranjita charaṇa[h] para—
12. ma mâhêśvarô mâtapitr pādânudhyâtô naya vi⁷
13. naya dayâ dâkshinyô śauryyau = dâryya sâtya tyâgâ =
14. di guṇa sampada mādharma śrī Ananta varmma sūnu mahârâ—
15. ja śrī mâ namda varmmâ⁸ pharêya bhuktiḥ pâti⁹ chikhallikâ gra—
16. ma sainô bhôgika bârîka pramukham(?) sarvva samavêtô

2nd plate, 2nd side.

17. Kumvina¹⁰ samânjâpayati viditam = astu vâya(?) yasmin grâ—
18. mō = Smâbhi Śrīmâ = nanda varmmâ¹¹ sūryyôparâgê puṇyâbhi vṛ—
19. ddhayô Râjaputra khâlinâmâ bhupaṭṭanah nivêśa—
20. na sahitâ(?) kapila maṇḍapa yâmali pōllaviḥ(?)
21. Kaunaṇḍilyasa¹² gôṭtrâya brâhmanyâ = ditya¹³ Śarmmaṇê mâttr—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Denoted by a symbol. | 2. Read, 'pratishṭhitasya'. |
| 3. Read, 'nija nistrimsâ'. | 4. Read, 'Vani'. |
| 5. Read, 'yaśâ = nêka'. | 6. Read, 'pratâpâvanata samasta sâmanata'. |
| 7. Read, 'vi' | 8. Read, 'śrīmân = namda Varmmâ'. |
| 9. Read, 'Pharêya bhuktyântahpâti'. | 10. Read, 'Kuṭumvinam' |
| 11. Read, 'śrīmân = namda Varmmâ'. | 12. Read, 'Kaunaṇḍiyasa'. |
| 13. Read, 'Brâhmana = ditya'. | |

22. Śarmmaṇe dugga śarmmaṇe cha sarvva karabharaiḥ pari hr̥tyā
 23. chaṃdrā = rka pratishṭha pratipādita iti pūrvvāṇa ḍōllamgt nāma—
 3rd plate, 1st side.
24. garttā simā sētu dakṣhiṇēnā pravahati dakṣhiṇēna simā—
 25. Sētu paśchima dakshina kōṇē pāshāṇa paśchimēṇa vāpt
 26. uttara paśchima kōṇē pāshāṇa uttarēṇa kāṇa garthā pa—
 27. rvvāṇa pravahati rāṇjah pranjā payati mābhūda
 28. phala śamkāvah paradattā = ti pārthiva[h] svadānā phala¹
 29. mānantya[m] paradānānu pālanam² vahubhir = vvasudhā dattā
 Rājā—
 30. bhi[h] saḡarādi bhi[h] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h] tasya tasya
 31. tadā phalam = iti pravarddhamāṇa Vijayarāja samvachchhara³
 śatē 221
 32. āshādha dina paṃchami utkirṇa[m] Śāsana[m]||

1. Read, 'Svadānāt phala mānantyam'.

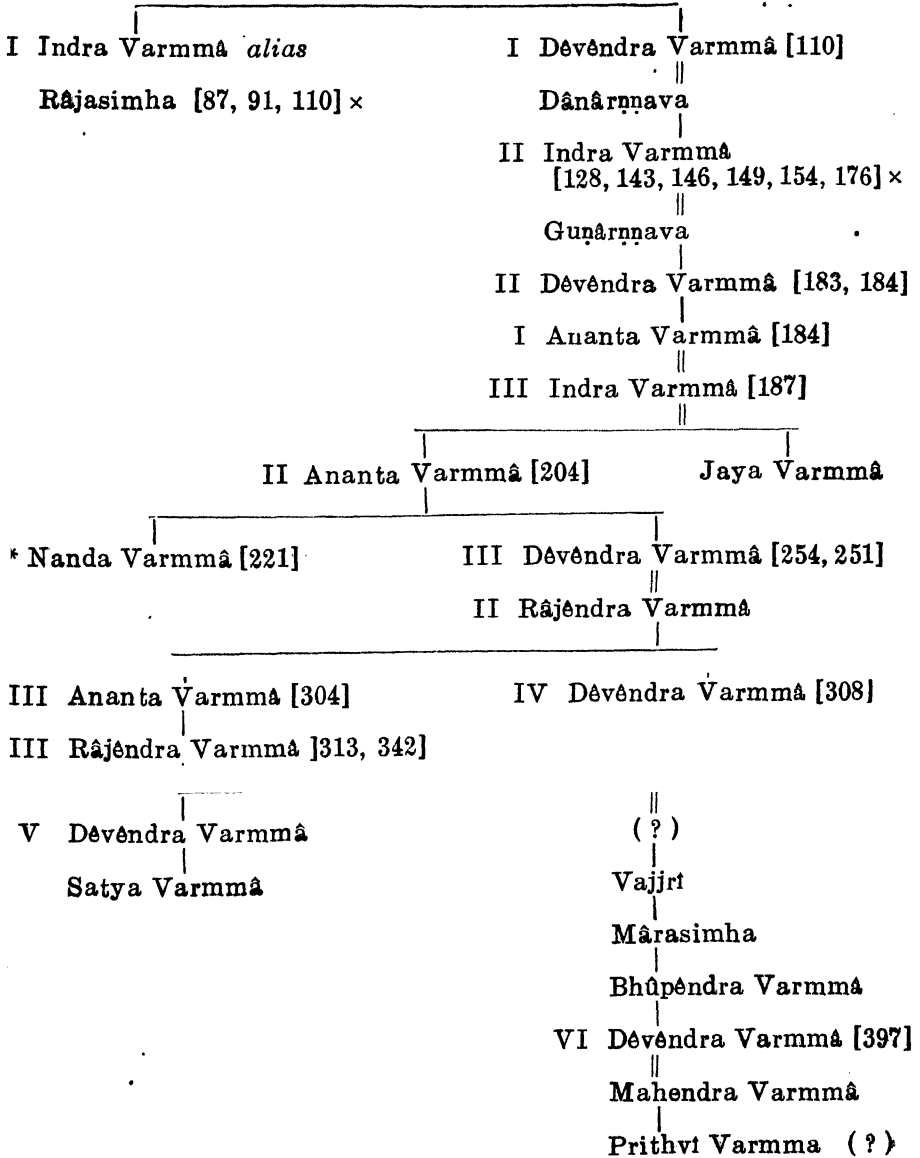
2. Read, 'Pālanē'.

3. Read, 'Samvatsara'

The Geneological Table of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

Hastivarmma [1 G. P. S]

I Rājendravarma



1. 'G. P. S.' = 'Ganga vamsa pravarddhamāna Samvatsara'.
- (The signs) × | = The son; || = the person is the son or the descendent:
- × Whether one person or more than that;
- The Mahārāja Nanda Varmma of the present plates.

THE RUINS OF HAMPI

By K. RAGHAVACHARYULU M. A., B. L.

Nearly six miles from the Town of Hospet in Bellary district are scattered the ruins of the capital of the Vizianagar kingdom now familiarly known to the traveller as the Ruins of Hampi. The spot is held sacred as showing the remains of a Hindu kingdom which held its independence against the Muhammadan powers of the North for nearly three centuries and which finally succumbed to their onslaught after the battle of Tallikota in 1565 A. D. Sadasiva Raya and Tirumala Raya fled from the city of Vizianagar to Penukonda after the death of Rama Raya in the battle and the petty state of Anegondi is what remains of the vast Empire. One feels with sorrow and indignation as he treads the sacred ruins and wonders how the Empire which during the reign of Krishna Raya extended to Kalinga in the North-east and beyond Seringapatam in the South could have within a period of only 35 years after his death been disintegrated and finally destroyed by the petty Muhammedan rulers of Golkonda, Ahmednagar and Bijapur. The combined forces of the Muhammedan rulers led to the fall of the mighty Empire.

Whatever be the reasons given by the Historians for the disintegration, the Empire has gone as Rome and Carthage in days of yore but the memory of it shall never die. The reigns of Krishna Raya and Rama Raya are held sacred by every citizen of Andhradesa as the Period of Renaissance in Telugu Poetry. The Emperor Krishna Raya living in the Canarese Country preferred to be a patron of Telugu Literature and himself composed one of the monumental works in that language. With the fall of Vizianagar, the patronage of Telugu Literature waned till it was revived in the fifties of the seventeenth century at Tanjore by a Rajput family allied to the Rayas of Vizianagar by blood.

To the religious observer, the mountainous tract on either side of R. Tungabhadra near Hampi, is sacred as being associated in tradition with Sri Rama. The hills of Anjanadi and Rishyamukam on the northern side of the River with Lake Pampa near them and the hills of Hemakutam, Malyavantam and Matanga on the southern side are associated with lively scenes between Vâli, Sugriva, Râma Lakshmana and Hanuman narrated in the Kishkindha Kanda of *Valmiki Ramayana*. In fact, the residents of the place go to the extent of showing the cremated remains of Vali and the cave in which Sugriva is alleged to have kept the jewels of Sita. The Lake with the river to the South of it bears the name Pampa, the Temple of

Virupaksha is known as the Pampapati Temple and the name of the Village Hampi is only a Canarese form of Pampapuram but one doubts how the river mentioned as Prāchina Vāhini (ಪ್ರಾಚಿನವಾಹಿನಿ) in the *Ramayana* (Kish. 27—16) is now flowing towards the East. Scholars believe the neighbourhood of Anegondi to be associated with the friendship of Sri Rama and Sugriva which led ultimately to the rescue of Sita and conquest of Lanka. The temple of Kodanda Rama built on the bank of Tungabhadra east of the Pampapati Temple contains rockcut images of Sri Rama and Lakshmana which depict their emaciated and tearstained features as they wandered through the forests of Kishkindha.

As the visitor proceeds from the town of Hospet which bore the name of Nagala-puram in the reign of Krishna Raya towards Kamalapur, he finds a stone wall running from near the Kamalapur Tank bund towards the northwest to the River Tungabhadra which evidently represents the outer limit of the ancient city. The ruins can be said to cover nearly ten square miles. Passing the village of Kamalapur, one finds at a short distance therefrom a stone enclosure which contains the traces of the King's Palace and other important buildings and which can be called the Palace Enclosure.

All the important buildings in the Palace Enclosure are very near to the road leading to the Virupaksha Temple on the bank of Tungabhadra. Very near the Southern Entrance to the Palace Enclosure a square building with a narrow moat outside, a small swimming bath in the Centre, and an arched Corridor around meets the visitor's eye and is described as the Queen's Bath though the Zenana enclosure is nearly half a mile from it. Towards the northwest of the same is an open bath equally distant from the Zenana Enclosure, octagonal in shape, with a corridor all around and a raised platform in the centre. The baths are almost intact and appear to have been intended for the king rather than for the Zenana. Midway between the baths is a Temple of Chandra Sekhara.

Passing the baths, the roadway leads the anxious traveller to two raised platforms with an underground chamber between them. The first platform which is nearly twenty feet high is called the throne platform. The chronicler calls it the House of Victory built after the King's Victorious campaign against Kalinga. The other platform is what remains of the King's Audience Hall. The stone pavilion leading to the spot where the king used to preside is also visible and neither of the platforms show the remains of the buildings which once adorned them. Between the two, one finds the underground chamber of which only a dark passage remains, suggesting an actual chamber in the proximity the passage to which has been subsequently closed up.

Towards the Northwest of the Kings' Audience Hall, the visitor passes by the less important Dannaik's Enclosure and Mint and arrives at the Hazara Rama Temple, one of the most important shrines now extant in the ruins, the description, artistic value and importance of which cannot be more adequately described than is done by Longhurst in his book on Hampi Ruins at Pages 71—80. A central hall leading to the inner Temple has four carved Blackstone pillars highly polished and beautiful, whereon the Avatars of Vishnu and other figures are carved. The Kalyana Mandapa to the Northeast contains the entire story of Ramayana carved on its walls. The Amman Shrine lies to the North of the Temple containing finely carved stone work on its walls. The outer enclosure of the Temple also contains bas-reliefs on its walls alleged to represent the Mahānavami festival. As regards sculpture, we search in vain to find its parallel except in the unfinished Vitthala Temple near the river.

A passage leading Northwest from the Hazara Rama Temple reaches the Zenana Enclosure. Two towers, one to the North and one to the South are almost intact and appear to have been used by the Ladies of the Zenana as pleasure resorts. A raised platform which probably represented the central building meets the visitor's eye as he enters by the Western gate and to the South of it is the Lotus Mahal which is evidently the finest building in the enclosure. The ground floor is open on all sides but the upper storey consists of a small room with numerous windows. The building has been mistaken by Sewell to be a Council Chamber while in fact its very existence in the Zenana Enclosure points strongly to the supposition that it must have been a Zenana pleasure resort. To the west of it is a small tank which was meant for the Zenana and a small passage in the Southern wall of the Zenana Enclosure reaches the Ranga Temple which was mainly intended for the ladies of the Zenana and which contains a marvellous image of Hanuman nearly ten feet high. Towards the East of the Zenana Enclosure are the Guards' Quarters and the Elephants' stables.

Leaving the Zenana Enclosure, if the visitor resumes his path along the Hampi Road, he visits the wonderful underground temple and finds a number of Nagakals (serpent stones) inside it. The road then passes by the side of the gigantic archway formed by the resting of one boulder against another at an enormous height and by a small temple dedicated to Virabhadra. The visitor, before he reaches the Krishna Temple, sees the awe-inspiring statues of Narasimha more than 20 feet high. One finds with sorrow, the statues mutilated to a great extent leaving only the outline. To the north of it is a monstrous Linga, a portion of which always remains under water and which is more than 12 feet in height. It would not be out of place here to mention the other marvels of sculpture whether rockcut

or carved out of stone. To the north of the Krishna Temple, there are two Temples dedicated to Ganesa, the Sasivikallu and Kadalaikallu Temples containing huge figures of the Belly God, the first in an open mandapam and the second inside a Temple. Opposite the Virupaksha Temple is seen a very huge bull or Nandi which is a marvel in itself. The Temple of Kodanda Rama on the bank of the Tungabhadra contains carved images of Rama and Lakshmana of more than average height. A small temple to the east of the Kodanda Rama Temple reveals the incarnation of Vishnu as Anantasayana and illustrates the birth of Brahma.

The Krishna Temple is in a very dilapidated condition and the Southern Verandah has entirely fallen to the ground. The road then passes by the Hemakutam hill and the Jain temples to the north of it and reaches the Pampapati or Virupaksha Temple. In the entire ruins of Hampi we find only three temples where worship is still carried on, the Virupaksha Temple, the Kodanda Rama Temple and the Malyavantha Raghunath Temple. The front tower of the Virupaksha Temple is of an enormous height, the passage in the wall leading to the top of it having been closed for fear of accidents. The conical top rising higher and higher is visible from the first floor. Portions of the Temple are said to belong to the pre-Vizianagar-period and the main shrine was built by Harihara I. The front Mandapa and the Eastern and Western Gates are said to have been built by Krishna Raya. Opposite the Temple is the street called the Hampi Bazaar now almost in ruins leading to the monolithic Bull above referred to. The entire Bazaar is crumbling down and it may disappear completely a few years hence.

The pathway then reaches the Tungabhadra at one of the most beautiful spots revealing the hills of Rishyamukam and Anjanadi on the other side, the latter having at its west a Temple dedicated to Hanuman. The river passes through the narrowest gorge near the Kodanda Rama Temple and in the distance are seen the remnants of the ruined bridge across the river. To the south of the Kodanda Rama Temple is the Achyuta Raya Temple and near it is the Matanga Parvatam with a small shrine at its top. The passage reaching the Achyutha Raya Temple from the river passes through the Soolai Bazaar which is also entirely in ruins.

Before the visitor reaches the Vitthala Temple he leaves to his left the Varaha Temple now in ruins and to his right the Jain temple at a height and passes under the King's Balance or the Tulapurusha Dana monument which was used on auspicious occasions by the kings for weighing themselves against Gold or precious stones and then distributing the same among the brahmins.

The Vitthala Temple is one of the finest Temples among the ruins and has been referred to above in connection with the Harara

Rama Temple. Both the Temples contain some of the finest specimens of sculptural art. The Vitthala Temple was begun by Krishna Raya and left unfinished. The ornamental pillared Hall in front of the Temple, the Kalyana Mandapa and the stone car adjacent to it excite the wonder and admiration of the onlooker.

The visitor then reaches the road which proceeds from Kamalapur to Talarigathu at which the river is crossed in small basket like vessels called putties to reach the other side and proceed to Anegondi. At a short distance from the other side of the river, the fortwall of Anegondi is reached and the ruins among the hills near by are still reported to be unsurveyed. The road to Kamalapur from Talarigathu passes by a Jain Temple called Ganigetti Jain Temple and the Hill of Malyavantham on which is situated the Raghunath Temple. The image of Rama is carved upon a huge boulder whereon is built the central shrine and to the west of the Temple is a small Siva shrine perched upon a boulder. A distant view of the ruins can be obtained from the Top of the hill.

So far a brief sketch of the ruins has been given to give the reader an idea of the various important monuments to be seen therein. One peculiar feature as regards the geographical position of the Ancient city is its impregnability in the North. The double row of mountains on either side of the Narrow and rapid Tungabhadra formed a Natural barrier repelling aggression from the North. Another feature in the ruins is the close interspersing of the Various Temples belonging to different religious sects Jain, Saivite and Vaishnavite. The numerous Jain Temples illustrate the toleration of different religious faiths by the Vijayanagar Kings. In fact the Jain Temples seem to date many centuries before Krishna Raya and we hear of Bukka in the middle of the fourteenth century squaring up quarrels between Jains and Vaishnavites. Besides, the visitor finds various Nagakals used for serpent worship among the ruins which show that that kind of worship was also in vogue in those days. Many of the Temples are in ruins and if greater care is not taken the wonderful monuments of Ancient culture will disappear leaving behind only a mass of stones.

One other feature is the fine Sculpture found in almost all the temples and specially as has been referred to above, in the Vitthala and Hara Rama Temples. The monolithic statues of Vira Narasimha Nandi and Ganesa and the Stone Linga are superb in their wild grandeur. But one burns with indignation to find all the figures in sculpture mutilated to an enormous extent by the invaders and their preservation in the present form is the least that can be ardently desired by us now.

The wonderful irrigation system and engineering skill has been spoken to by the chroniclers Polo and Nuniz. The remains of a

stone aqueduct used to supply water to the baths in the citadel can still be seen near the throne platform. I cannot bring this short description of the ruins to a close without observing that they are a marvellous sight for the gods to see and that the sacred place ought to be a place of Pilgrimage for every patriotic Indian as being the only remains of a vast Hindu Empire during the medieval period.

KALINGA

By GAGABANDHU SINHA

By studying ancient history we come to know something of the wonderful nature of the Divine providence. History is the silent witness of the many and varied changes that constantly take place in the vast universe. To study the different manners and customs, religions and civilisations of the different peoples who have had their independent and individual growth through the ages, is to discern the eternal glory of the Almighty; and to be able to do this we have to read history. History is not confined to words. It lives in inscriptions, on rock and coin, in buildings and works of art, in tradition and folklore. It is by studying these that we can construct ancient history.

We propose, in this article, to review the history of ancient Kalinga. The kingdom of Kalinga has been known by various names. It is very difficult to determine the limits of ancient Kalinga; but there is ample evidence to show that it was a fairly prosperous and extensive country. It cannot be said that all the existing material has yet been published. Historical research is a very taxing business demanding much time and patience. It is very desirable, then, that one should give an immediate publication to whatsoever information one possesses or has been able to seize. If this is done, others will be able to supplement it with their own researches and to go a little further. It is with this hope that I venture to write these pages.

Name—Origin :—It is not an imaginary name. There lived in ancient times a king named Bali; he had a son named Kalinga. The country ruled by Kalinga came to be known as Kalinga.

Antiquity :—The antiquity of Kalinga is a foregone conclusion. The name is found in the Sutras, the Sanhitas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and in the Puranas. The following works may be cited.

(Baudhayana Sutras No. 1772 Manu Sanhita, tenth chapter, Ramayana, "Kishkindha" and "Ayodhya" cantos, Mahabharata, Vana Parva, Chap. 144, Hari-vamsa, Chap. 288, 55th Sloka). The names "Kalinga" or "Kulinga" (Kôôlinga) occur a number of times in the Ramayana. According to a description in the forty-first stanza of the 'Kishkindha' canto, Kalinga was situated in the Deccan. In his way to and from his uncle's kingdom of Rajgriha, Bharata comes across the river and country, "Kulinga". "While returning to

Ayodhya from his uncle's house Bharata came to the river 'Sthanu-mati' near the village of 'Ekashala', crossing which he arrived on the banks of another river Gomati, in the neighbourhood of the village 'Vinata', crossing which again he entered the Kalinga country." It is clear from this that Kalinga lay between river Gomati and Ayodhya. It is mentioned in the "Padma Purana" that Ramachandra's horse, let loose, in connection with the horse-sacrifice" was honoured in the kingdom of Kalinga. The Brahma Vaivarta Purana speaks of a certain Vaisya named Samadhi performing the worship of the goddess Bhagabatee, in conjunction with King Suratha. Samadhi's grand-father Biradha was the King of Kalinga. The Mahabharata mentions Kalinga, in connection with Yudhisthira's pilgrimages, intimating that it is situated in the Deccan. Vaishampayana tells Janamejaya, "Having gone to the confluence of the Ganges, Yudhisthira bathed in the river "Panchashat" and then joining his brothers he marched on the sea-coast in the direction of Kalinga. About those places on the sea-shore, Womasha remarks "The king calls this country Kalinga. Here flows the river Vaitarani". It can be surmised from this that in the time of Mahabharata, Kalinga extended up to Orissa. There is a verse in Harivamsa (अङ्गाच्च कलिङ्गांस्ताम्रलिप्तकां) which has given rise to the belief that Kalinga lay near "Tamralipta". It is mentioned in the Bhishma-Parva that Srutayu, king of Kalinga fought on behalf of Duryodhan, in the great War. He and his son were killed by Bhima. Kalidasa's 'Raghu-vamsa' speaks of Kalinga as the country lying on the frontiers of Orissa (Raghuvamsa cants 4, sloka 38). The "Shakti Sangama Mantra" says that Kalinga extended from the east of Jagannath to the banks of the river Krishna and that the southern parts of Kalinga were known as Kawlinga (कालिङ्ग). Again a work entitled "Digvijaya Prakash" has that Kalinga was governed by Bhimakeshar and that it lay to the north of the Odra-desh. From the above references it becomes clear that Kalinga had come to prominence many years before the epic age and that by the time the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed the people of Kalinga had made a name in international politics.

It has been stated above that Kalinga was the son of King Vali. Who was this Vali and for how many years did he rule? He belonged to the race of the Moon (चन्द्रवंश). According to the family trees in the Hari-vamsa and the Vishnu-purana, Vali was the son of king Sutapala (सुतपाल) of the race of Nahusha. Vali had five sons—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Soondha (सून्ध) and Pundra (पुण्ड्र). Vali was of the eighth generation from Nahusha. Here-in also the antiquity of Kalinga can be ascertained.

ACCOUNTS OF THE FOREIGNERS

Much material about ancient Kalinga can be gathered from the writings of Western antiquarians, especially the old Greek and Roman Scholars. In his geographical account of India Pliny depended solely on the descriptions of Megasthenes. We find in it then different places bearing the name Kalinga—(1) Kalinga, (2) Maco Kalinga, (3) Gangari-desha Kalinga. We find also the name “Tri-Kalinga” in old stone-tablets. In Mahabharata the title has been appended to different places in different times. In his commentary on the Vishnu Purana, Wilson seems to think that there were actually three different kingdoms known as Kalinga. Cunningham says that “Telingana, has come from “Tri-Kalinga”. Some of the Chedi kings have left inscriptions, calling themselves the rulers of Tri-Kalinga and Kalinjarpur. Cunningham concludes from this that, taking Kalinjar and Tri-Kalingas to mean the mountain fortress of Bundelkhand, (1) Dhanaka on the river Kristna corresponds to the modern ‘Amara-vati’ (2) Andhra to Varangal and (3) Kalinga to Rajamahendri. Pliny states that Kalinga is at the root of the mountains Mandeh, Mallu and Mallas in Eastern India. Scholars have agreed that mount Mallas corresponds to the mountain Mahendra, in Ganjam.

According to the accounts of Hiuen Tsang who paid a visit to Kalinga, during his travels in India in the seventh century, Kalinga had its capital to the South-West of Ganjam, at a distance of 1400 to 1500 Lees (233-235 miles) Hiuen-Tsang spelt its name as “Kiye ling-Kiya”, blundering with his Chinese pronunciation. From the capital of Odhra-desha, he covered 1200 lees in a South-eastern direction and arrived at “Kong-ju-to;” whence he proceeded to “Kiye-ling-Kiya”. Evidently Konju-to is a corruption of Ganjam. Hiuen-Tsang writes that Ganjam was situated at the confluence of two seas. Antiquarians tell us that Ganjam lay between lake Malka and the Sea. Julia pronounces ‘Kalinga’ as ‘Kanyadha’. To ascertain the site of Kalinga that would be in harmony with the descriptions of Hiuen-Tsang and Julian, two places in the Deccan come up for consideration (1) Rajmahendri on the river Godavary (2) Karinga on the sea-shore.

(1) Rajmahendra is 251 miles west of Ganjam.

(2) Koringa is 242 miles distant from Ganjam.

In Cunningham’s opinion Rajamahendri was the capital of the Kalinga, visited by Hiuen Tsang. Srika-kol or Chikkool ‘is said to be the original capital of Kalinga. This city is situated at a distance of 20 miles from Kalingapatam. According to Hiuen Tsang the extent of Kalinga was 5000 Lees (833 miles). Commenting on this, Cunningham says, “Being on the east of the Andhra kingdom and on the south of the Dhanakata city, it can be safely said that Kalinga extended on the South-west up to the Godavary. The distance between

the two limits is roughly 800 miles. Hence Hiuen Tsang must have visited this territory. The capital of Kalinga, seen by Hiuen Tsang, had the extent of 5 miles. Many are of the opinion that the conception that Rajamahendri was the capital of Kalinga is quite modern. The Chalukya Kings established the Vengi Kingdom in 540 A. D. Their capital was Vengi-pur. The tottered remains of this once prosperous city are still to be found in a place known as Vegi, 50 miles South-west of Rajmahendra and 5 miles north of Ellore. The Vengi Kingdom once extended up to the boundaries of Orissa. One of the kings of Vengi captured Kalinga in 750 A. D. A few years after this they established Rajmahendri as their capital.

There is a rock-cut-inscription at Khandgiri of King Aira (ऐर). Therein Kalinga is mentioned thrice. Scholars believe that the inscription belongs to 200 B. C. and that it was in the life-time of Shakya-muni. It can be gathered from the inscription that once Kalinga was famous for fine muslin. One of the Kings built a magnificent stupa to treasure the tooth "Danta" of the Budha and thus gave rise to the name of Dantapura being given to his capital. Cunningham thinks that the Dandagula (दण्डगुल) of the Buddhist writers is a corruption of Dantapura. Rajmahendri which is 30 miles distant from port Karinga corresponds to Dantapura. The name Rajamahendri is the invention of a later age. Simhapur had been the capital of Kalinga before the Vengi Rajahs exchanged it for Rajmahendri. Buddhist writers state that King Sinha-Vahu established Simhapur. It was the son of this Sinhavahu, one named Vijaya, that became famous as the conqueror of Ceylone (लङ्काद्वीप). Some say that the names Sinhala, Lanka or Ceylone have come from "Sinha Vahu". Whatever it might be, the Kingdom of Sinha Vahu is now all but extinguished. The remains of it can be discovered in an old city, "Simhapur", by name, standing 115 miles west of Ganjam.

The Kalinga country has been known to all the four ages—Satya, Treta, Dwapara and Kali; but the pity is that it now remains only a name.

At one time Bengal was on the point of living annexed to the Kalinga kingdom. Utkal for some time, had formed a part of it. A larger part of Madras was once included in it. It was then a powerful Kingdom indeed; but all its glory has now gone. The name alone still lingers on in the corrupted form of Telingana (Tri-Kalinga or Traikalinga = Trailingna = Talingh = Telingana). It has but shared the fate of many another Indian Kingdom which could once boast of its wealth, power, prosperity and what not, but which is now no more than a poor solitary name.

Boundaries:—It is a matter of controversy as to the exact extent of ancient Kalinga. The name Tri-Kalinga (Three Kalingas) denoted (1) Northern Kalinga (2) Central Kalinga and (3) Southern Kalinga. It has been proved above that once upon a time Utkal formed a part of Kalinga, though at other times it was an independent country, lying at the farthest limits of Kalinga.

In the account of King Raghu's conquests, in Raghuvamsa, we find that Raghu crossed the river Kapisa and entered the Utkal country, whence he proceeded to the Kalinga kingdom. The King of Kalinga encountered Raghu, with his armies, at the foot of the mountain Mahendra and was defeated. Now where is River Kapisa? Some think it corresponds to the present river Kansai. Some again think it to be river Suvarna-rekha. Kansai comes nearer to the word Kapisa and can be more safely accepted as the river in question. "Mahendra" is one of the seven great mountain-ranges (सप्तपर्वतमाला) of India and forms the northern portion of the Eastern ghats. It stands on the banks of the river Godavary. It has not been said that Kapisa formed the northern boundary of Kalinga. From the account in "Raghuvansa" it is clear that Utkal lay between Kapisa and Kalinga. Raghu appears to have sought the help of the king of Utkal for his journey into the Kalinga. A passage in Mahabharata has it that there flowed the river Vaitarini through Kalinga. Now the Vaitarini flows through Jajpur which is in Orissa. It can be inferred from this that Utkal formed a part of Kalinga, at that time. Hence it can be said that Vaitarini was, once upon a time the Northern boundary of Kalinga. There is evidence to show that the river Godavari was the southern boundary of Kalinga, though at times the kings of Kalinga extended their sway far beyond. It is said that the mountain Amar-kantaka marked the western limits of the kingdom. River Narmada has its sources in this mountain. This part was, at one time, occupied by the aborigines (Kurmo Purana 2—39—9).

“कलिङ्ग नगरस्य नात्यासन्न—सहकार चञ्चलकलिके....काले कलिङ्गचजः सरङ्गना जनेनसरूतनयावद्भोणि दिनानि—सागरतीरकानने व्रीडारव्याजाता सवितरासित् । अथ—तवरुकाञ्घ्रनाभेन जयसिंहेन सलकितरण साधनानीतेनानेक संख्ये नानीकेन ब्रागागत्या गृहित सा—कलत्रः । (दशकुमर).

It can be gathered from this that Kalingapatam was not the capital of the Kalinga Kingdom, nor was it Vizagpatam; but it was most probably, Rajamahendri, to the South. Rajamahendri stood a little distance off the sea-shore and had the Andhra-desa on one side. There is a legend which says that the Andhradesa was annexed to Kalinga, after a certain Andhra King had been killed. There was a

jungle near the Andhra-nagara; the jungle was by the side of a lake; the lake was like a large sea. This lake might have been that of "Koleru". It was a huge expanse of 180 miles. Some miles west of it there is Vengi. Vengi was the capital of ancient Andhra-desa. Perhaps 'Vengi' was the "Andhra Nagara" mentioned above.

It is evident from this that the Kalinga Kingdom extended up to the river Godavari. The King of Kalinga was called "Mahendra-Natha" or "Lord of Mahendra".

उत्कलादर्शित पथः कालङ्गाभिमुखोद्यौ

प्रियं सहेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार नतुमेदिनी।

(रघुवंश 4—32—4 on)

Malli-natha annotates महेन्द्रनाथस्य अकलिङ्गस्य. [हनु 2—53—4.]

अवनम्य करे दत्ते कलिङ्गैरग्रगैस्ततः

आरुरोह महेन्द्राद्रिं यस्यदृश्य यस्मिनः।

(19—92).

In the opinion of Wanson, Kalinga extends up to somewhere in the Eastern ghats and lies between Vizagpatam and Kurnool.

The name of the capital is Rajpur. Rajpur means capital (Shanti Parva 5). According to Raghuvamsa, Rajpur was situated on the sea-shore. "The sea could be seen from the windows of the palace and the roaring of its waves prevented the music in the palace from being heard." This description may be applicable to Kalingapatam and it is certain that in the time of Kalidasa, Kalingapatam was the capital. Kalingapatam and Srikakoli or Chikkakoli are said to have been the ancient capitals, Chikkakole being the earlier of the two. (For the antiquity of Chikkakolu See Arch. Surv. of S. India by R. S. Sewell I 2 and 7). The name Srikakol is not to be found in any dictionary (अभिधान) or anywhere else. The people were called Kalingas or Kawlingas or Kawlingakas. Their kingdom was ancient. The name of three important Kings are Sima, Agramertho and Kuhara (आदि 76—2601). Two of their princesses were married in the race of the Moon (चन्द्रवंश). Duryodhana was present at the Swayamvar of the princesses and he was able to carry them off with the help of Karna (शान्ति प 4). Krishna is said to have defeated the King of the Kalingas in the battle of Dantakush (Udyoga 47—1883).

In the time of Mahabharata, Orissa was inside Kalinga. It extended on the north up to the river Vaitarini and on the south up to

the Eastern ghats, though the Kalinga Kings were sometimes able to hold sway right up to the far Amara-Kantaka mountains.

At one time the Kings of Orissa had captured Kalinga and had extended Orissa many miles to the south. There is an inscription on a hill near the fort of Wangulia, Via Attagada and Boirani. The name of the hill is Nagiria Dhimiria. The inscription is in both Oriya and Telugu Characters. Its date is "first part of Chaitra (चैत्र), tenth day." The King of Golcondâ, Mahamad Kuli Kutb Shah was then the ruler of the "Andhra Trailinga" country. The inscription gives an account of Kutbsha's Conquest. The King of Attagada appears to have paid tribute to this monarch. The Telugu inscription adds that the fort belonged to the Utkal country "whose King was the lord of Rajamahendri, Kalinga and Sourastra" (E. G. S. C. for 1913—14 P. 22).

It can be inferred from this that Kalinga, at that time, had become a part of Utkal and had lost its individual importance. When once a Kingdom is conquered by a more powerful Kingdom and is deprived of its independent growth, it is not surprising that in a few years it finds its very name forgotten and lost in oblivion. Had it not been for a faint memory still preserved in a lonely village here, and a town there, with the name "Kalinga", that great country would long have shared the same fate. Kalinga-patam is an example of such silent witnesses.

King Anangabhimha, one of the ancient rulers of Utkal, appended a very long title to his name—"Veera Sri Gajapati-Gaundesvara-Navakoti Karnata-Kalabargisvara, etc," (वीरश्री गजपति गौडेश्वर नवकोटि कर्णाट कलबर्गेश्वर.....) It is simply an enumeration of the countries ruled by Maharaja Ananga Bhima Dev. The Carnatic was an important country in ancient India. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata, the Markandeya Purana, the Brihat Sanhita and other old works. Its boundaries have been specified in a work entitled "Shakti—Sangama-tantra". It seems to have extended from "Ramnath" to Sri-Ranga-Patam. In his "History of the Mahrattas", Grant Duff describes Southern Deccan as consisting of five main divisions, Dravida, Carnatic, Andhra or Telingana, Pandya and Maharastra. According to him, ancient Carnatic lay between the Ma'bar and the Coromandel coasts—the Eastern and Western ghats forming its western limits. To the north of it there flows the river Manjari. Black Cotton is produced in the Carnatic; hence its nick-name "Black-land". The Carnatic Kings had occupied a portion of Telingana. There is clear evidence that Maharaja Ananga Bhima Dev once ruled the Carnatic. Maharaja Prataparudra-dev also is known to have extended

his empire up to Ramesvara. Kalabarga (Kulberg) is in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad. The title, given above, is still being used by the royal family of Utkal and is being referred to in the Utkal-Almanac (पञ्जिका).

The ancestors of the Ganga-Kings originally lived in Kalinga. Choda-ganga-dev's ancestor Antanta-varma is said to have had his residence at Ganga-vadi. I have dwelt upon this point in my essay on "Ancient Utkal". (Mukur Vol. 13, P. 30) There is a genealogy of the Ganga-race in a copper plate of Narasimha-dev. It is found there that Ananta-varma belonged to the line of the "Kōlahal-Kings". The following sloka in the inscription is note-worthy:—

धनकनक समृद्धो गङ्गावाडिः प्रासिद्धः

सकलविषय भूतः स्वर्ग वर्गोप भोग्य.

तदधिपतिरखाद्योनन्तवर्मा नृपेन्द्रः

समभवदित रूप गङ्गनाम्ना देदयाः

It is written in the Madala-Panji" that the Ganga-race had its origin in the South and that Gokarnesvara Mahadeva (गोकर्णेश्वर महादेव) lived in the neighbourhood.

The village of Gangavadi is situated within the Parlakimedi territory—17 miles from Naupada and 9 miles from Parlakimedi. Gokarnapur is at a distance of 2—3 miles from Badakhemadi. Here lives Gokarnesvara Mahadeva. It is said that once upon a time Badakhemandi, Sanakhemandi and Parlakhemandi had been included in one kingdom and that Gokarnesvara was the special deity of the Kingdom. The Ganga Kings ruled Utkal for a very long time. This subject can be treated in a separate article. Chikkul can safely be taken as the Southern limit of the Oriya Country. It is a controversial point and I do not want to discuss it here. I propose however to deal with it in a later article.

KRISHNA RAYA

OR

The Story of the Karnata Kingdom

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B. A., B. L.

I

Name of Karnata Rajya:—The Karnata Kingdom was known to foreign writers both European and Mohamedan as the Kingdom of Vijayanagara from the name of its capital. But in the country itself it has always been called the Karnāta Rājya or the Kingdom of Karnata and I have chosen to retain that name.

State of the Deccan in the beginning of Fourteenth Century:—The early years of the 14th Century of the Christian Era were a memorable period in the history of the Deccan. The country had till then been outside the influence of the Mohamedan rulers of Delhi and had been ruled by Hindu Kings on the lines of purely Hindu culture. The principal kingdoms then in existence were Devagiri and Warangal or Telingana, north of the Krishna River and the Hoysala Kingdom of Dwarasamudra (the modern Halebid in Mysore) south of that river. In the expiring years of the 13th century, the Mohamedans began to press southwards and by the close of the first quarter of the 14th Century succeeded in shaking these old and worn out kingdoms to their very foundations and in occupying a great deal of their country north of the Kistna. Everything seemed, in the words of Mr. Robert Sewell, “to be leading up to but one inevitable end, the ruin and devastation of Hindu Provinces, the annihilation of their old royal houses, the destruction of their religion, their temples, and their cities. All that the dwellers in the south held most dear seemed tottering to its fall.” Although for some time some of the dynasties continued to rule their continually decreasing dominions, they had become quite worn out and exhausted. At this juncture rose into existence the new kingdom of Karnata which succeeded in checking the wave of Mohamedan invasion for nearly two centuries and a half. It was young and vigorous and its kings were imbued with a high sense of patriotism.

Origin of the Karnata Kingdom:—The earliest authentic inscription of the first dynasty of this kingdom belongs to the year 1346—47 A. D. and records an endowment made by five brothers Hariyappa Odayar, Kampanna Odayar, Bukkanna Odayar, Marappa Odayar, and Muddappa Odayar, sons of Sangama, together with some other members of the family, to the religious Mutt at Sringeri, then

presided over by Vidya Thirtha or Bharathi Thirtha. The inscription says that the grant was made in commemoration of Hariyappa Odayar having conquered the country between the Eastern and Western seas. We find from an inscription at Mepuru in the Cuddapah district that, as early as the year 1351, the Province of Udayagiri (Nellore District) was governed by Savanna Odayar, son of Kampanna Odayar, the second of the five brothers mentioned above, and an inscription at Koteswar in the South Canara District shows that that country was subject to the rule of Vira Bukkanna Odayar, the third of the five brothers, in the year 1353. Thus we see that in its early years the new kingdom was composed of the whole country from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean. It can be divided into two broad divisions the Eastern or Telugu and the Western or Canarese. The Canarese portion had previously belonged to the Hoysalas and was occupied on the downfall of that dynasty. The Eastern portion had belonged to the Kakatiya Kings of Orangal till a few years previously and we do not know yet how and when it passed from them to the sons of Sangama. Although the Kakatiyas lost a great portion of their territories to the Muhammadans about this time, they continued to rule a reduced kingdom for more than a century later, as Ferishta's History shows. Great Kingdoms like great rivers defy the attempts to find out their ultimate origins and epigraphy has not yet succeeded in discovering the first beginnings of the Karnata Empire.

Traditional Account of the origin:—Mr. Sewell refers to the tradition that the Empire was founded by two brothers named Hukka and Bukka with the help of a sage named Madhava *alias* Vidyaranya and that these brothers were adventurers from Telingana. The Portuguese writer Nuniz who wrote from Vijayanagaram about the year 1536 A. D. and whose account was evidently based on the tradition then current in the country gives a different and to my mind more trustworthy account of the origin of the Empire. He traces it to a small principality whose capital was Anegondi, the Nagundy of Nuniz. The King of Delhi waged war against this principality, killed its king and seized the country. He then returned to his capital leaving a deputy in charge of the conquered territory. Not long after, the people rose against the king's deputy who "seeing how little profit he could get in this country and how badly he was obeyed and how far off was the succour sent by his lord the king, sent quickly to him how all the land was risen against him and how every one was lord of what he pleased and no one was on his side, and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case". The King seems to have decided that the best thing to be done in such a case was to hand over the country to some one that was in any way related to the late king but as none such was forthcoming it was decided to deliver the kingdom into the hands of two persons who had

been taken captives in the recent wars. One of the captives who had been the late king's Minister was made king and the other who had been treasurer, was made Minister. There seems no reason for doubting that Anegondi formed the nucleus of the new kingdom. It was a small principality and was hemmed in between two great kingdoms Orangal on the East and Dwarasamudra on the West. We see that in its early years the new kingdom of Karnata was composed of portions of both these kingdoms. It would, under these circumstances, be most interesting to know in what relationship the little principality of Anegondi stood to each of its great neighbours. The name Karnata which the first kings gave to the new kingdom certainly tends to indicate their intimate relationship with the Hoysalas. On the other hand, the early possession by the Karnata Kings of a portion of the Kakatiya dominions requires to be accounted for. The Hoysalas had never extended their dominion to the East Coast and it seems too early for the Odayars of the budding Karnata kingdom to have conquered this country in that early part of their career. The Telugu poem called 'Kridabhiramamu' mentions that an East Coast Brahmin called Vinukonda Chandra Mantri was Treasurer under Bukka I and that Tippa Mantri, another member of the same family, held the same office under Harihara II. It is also worth considering whether the term Karnata was used in the narrow linguistic sense or in a broader sense. The Telugu poet Srinadha who flourished in the beginning of the 15th Century says in one of his books that in whatever language others might write, he wrote in the Karnata language. The exact nature of relationship in which the early Karnata kings stood to the Hoysalas on the one hand and the Kakatiyas on the other is a point worthy of investigation.

First Kings:—The first authentic king of Karnata was Hariyappa Odayar or Harihara I who seems to have ruled from 1336 till about the year 1354 when he was succeeded by his younger brother Bukka I who ruled till 1376. Both these kings called themselves only Odayars and Mahamandaleswaras. Bukka I greatly extended his dominions to the South so that his son Harihara II who ascended the throne about the year 1377 assumed the full regal titles of "King of Kings and supreme lord of Kings" and also called himself the lord of three seas. Harihara II was the owner of a much larger kingdom than either his uncle or father and was practically the lord of all the country, South of R. Kistna. Both Bukka I and Harihara II were constantly at war with their neighbours, the Bahmini Kings. Harihara II is said to have died in 1404.

Revival of Vedic and Sanskrit learning:—Before taking leave of these founders of the Empire it is necessary to refer to the revival of Vedic and Sanskrit learning which took place in their time. We have seen that the new kings at the very commencement of their career

made a grant to the ancient and celebrated religious institution at Sringeri. The great commentary on the Vedas by Sayanacharya appears to have been commenced in the time of Bukka I and completed in that of his son Harihara II. We have several works from the pen of the great Madhavacharya and some philosophical books from that of Vidyaranya. In fact every branch of the Sanskrit learning was revived and enriched at this time as it had been previously in the time of the Yadava kings of Devagiri under the auspices of the great Hemadri Pant.

Religious revival:—There seems to have been also a great religious revival at this time and from the encouragement which the kings gave to this movement they came to be called the protectors of the path of the Vedas as the kings of Great Britain are called the defenders of the Christian Faith. Popular opinion attributes the whole of this work to one man Madhava who is said to be identical with Vidyaranya. As there seems to exist some confusion of thought on this subject, it is necessary to examine it a little closely.

Madhavacharya, Madhavantri, Sayanacharya, Vidyaranya, Vidyatirtha:—Both in literature and inscriptions, we meet with five names in this connection. They are Madhava Mantri, Madhavacharya, Sayana Acharya, Vidyaranya and Vidya Thirtha. Madhava Mantri seems quite different from Madhavacharya. The former was a disciple of one Kriyasakti while the latter calls himself a pupil of Vidyatirtha and never mentions Kriyasakti. Sayanacharya was a younger brother of Madhavacharya and the reputed author of the commentaries on the Vedas which are popularly attributed to Vidyaranya and called Vidyaranyam. Vidyaranya and Vidya Thirtha are by some regarded as one person but this is incorrect. Vidya Thirtha was the Guru of Harihara I and Bukka I as well as of Vidyaranya and the latter acknowledges him as such in his works. Vidyaranya succeeded Vidya Thirtha to the spiritual throne of Sringeri. This Vidya Thirtha appears to have been spiritually a great personage, for, even Vidyaranya speaks of him as if he were the *Maheswara* or the great lord of the universe.

Then there is the strong popular idea that Madhavacharya was the same as Vidyaranya and that he assumed that name after he became a Sanyasi. I have tried to find some contemporary record either epigraphical or otherwise in support of this view but have not succeeded.

Vijayanagaram:—The building of the great city of Vijayanagaram is, by tradition, referred to the year 1336 and is said to have been originally named Vidyaranyanagaram. In inscriptions, we do not hear of the city till the time of Bukka I and there seems no doubt that it was built by that king. From the beginning it was called Vidyanagara or Vijayanagara indiscriminately, and it is not impossible

that the former name was lent by Vidya Thirtha who was greater and more revered by the king than Vidyaranya.

Praudha Devaraya:—In 1404, Harihara II was succeeded by his sons, Bukka II and Devaraya I one after the another. Then came Vijaya (in 1410) who was followed by Devaraya II, also called Praudha Devaraya. This King was constantly at war with the Sultans of Kulburga, and on two occasions his troops were joined by those of the king of Telingana before that kingdom was finally crushed about the year 1425. The Persian Ambassador Abdul Razak gives a graphic description of the splendours of the city of Vijayanagaram at this time. The city was in his view, "such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world".

An Italian traveller named Nicolo Conti who visited Vijayanagar at this time tells us that there were in use at the time "Ballistae and those machines which we call Bombardiers, also other warlike implements adopted for beseizing Cities" He adds "they (Hindus) call us Franks and say, while they call other nations blind, that they themselves have two eyes and that we have but one, because they excel all others in prudence".

Last kings of first dynasty:—After Devaraya II who died in 1447, there came five kings in succession—viz. Pratapa Deva Raya, Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha I, Rajashekara and Virupaksha II, who was practically the last of his dynasty in more senses than one. Virupaksha II seems to have vacated the throne about the year 1486 and the history of the period which intervened between this event and the accession of the great Krishna Raya of the Tuluva Dynasty in the year 1509 was till a few years ago involved in great obscurity which was not relieved by the fact that during this period there were four kings—all of the name Narasimha. It was not known under what circumstances the Tuluva Dynasty founded by Krishnaraya's father Narasimha came to occupy the throne and in what relation this dynasty stood to the first dynasty. We know now that between the first or Sangama Dynasty as it is sometimes called and the Tuluva Dynasty, there was another small dynasty viz., the Saluva dynasty consisting of two kings and that both the Saluvas and Tuluvas were usurpers. This theory of double usurpation which has solved a long-standing mystery is referred to in the account of the Vijayanagara Empire by Nuniz, and I dealt with it in my paper on the Devulapalli plates published in the 7th volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, confirming that theory by other evidences, Epigraphical and Literary.

This is what Nuniz says about the circumstances which led to the first usurpation.

The theory of double usurpation:—"As long as he (Virupaksha) reigned, he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women and

to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, never showed himself either to his Captains or to his people so that in a short time, he lost that which his forefathers had won and left for him, and the nobles of the kingdom seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the king lost Goa, and Chall, and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm". This description cannot fail to remind those that have read Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* of that profligate Prince the last of the Ikshvakus who spent all his time with women and pressed on one occasion by his ministers to show himself to his loyal subjects from the balcony of his palace, thrust out a foot through the window and said they must be satisfied with that. The profligacy and imbecility of Virupaksha seems to have so enraged even his own sons that one of them is said to have killed him not for his own aggrandizements but in the interest of the Empire for, when the ministers proposed to crown him, he said "Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father, and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood" This younger brother whom Nuniz called *Padez Row* but whose name was probably *Praudha raya* succeeded to the throne, and proved a worse king than his father.

Thus, at this time, the empire owing to the incapacity and profligacy of its last rulers, had lost substantially in territory and a great deal more in prestige and it seemed as if the great Chinese wall which had been erected to stop the Muhamedan incursions more than a century before, was about to collapse rendering the country an easy prey to the Bhahmini kings. The ministers and the Vassals of the Empire met together to consider what should be done to prevent the impending danger, and it was decided that Saluva Narasimha or Narasinga Raya who was the most powerful Prince in the Empire and who ruled an extensive territory on the East Coast should assume sovereignty deposing the king. This scheme was at once given effect to. Narasinga marched straight to the palace. When the news of this was taken to the king, he did not believe it and ill-treated the informers. He remained strong in his ignorant optimism till Narasimha entered the palace when the only course which suggested itself to him was to escape by the back door. He was not heard of again. This *coupe-d'etat* saved the Empire from dismemberment for more than a century.

Second or Saluva Dynasty:—The second or Saluva Dynasty which was founded by Narasimha was not a long one. It had only two kings Narasimha and his son Immadi Narasimha. Narasimha, seems to have reigned only for 6 or 7 years after he ascended the

throne of Vijayanagara, viz, from 1486—1492, though he had governed his own principality for more than 30 years previously. He was a strong and capable ruler and was much beloved by the people. He regained a great part of the territory which had been lost in the time of the previous kings. "He caused horses to be brought from Persia and Aden into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive three for thousand pagodas, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive". Narasinga, in fact, imparted fresh life and vigour to a dying Empire and left it to his sons in a prosperous state. We find Muhammadan historians calling the kingdom, the kingdom of Narasinga from this period. Narasimha had two great generals in his service viz, Isvara Naika and his son Narasa Naika father of Krishnaraya. On his death about the year 1492, Saluva Narasimha appointed Narasanayaka regent to his two sons who were still young. The first son seems to have died early. Nuniz says he was murdered by Narasa Nayaka's enemies to attribute the crime to him. There is no epigraphical record of this unfortunate prince. We have several inscriptions of Immadi Narasimha, the 2nd prince and these show that the king was only a figurehead and that the real ruler was Narasanayaka or Narasanayaningaru.

Nuniz says that Narasanayaka had king Immadi Narasimha secretly killed and had himself proclaimed his successor since there was none available who was in any way related to the late king. Ferishta tells us, on the other hand, that the young king died in one of the wars with the kings of Kulbarga.

Second usurpation and Third or Tuluva Dynasty:—With Immadi Narasimha, the Saluva dynasty ended and the third or Tuluva dynasty commenced in 1505 with Narasanayaka. There is, however, no contemporary record showing that Narasanayaka actually proclaimed himself king and it is open to doubt that whether Narasanayaka or his son Bhujabala Viranarasimha should be regarded as the first king of the third dynasty. The titles Bhujabala (strong of arm) and Vira (heroic) of the latter show that he had to do much to keep the kingdom that had been acquired by his father. This second usurpation of the Karnatic throne seems to have taken place about the year 1505 A.D. Bhujabala Viranarasimha reigned till 1509 when his younger brother Krishna Devaraya ascended the throne.

Political state of the Deccan at the accession of Krishna Deva Raya:—Krishna Raya was the greatest Monarch not only of his dynasty but all the dynasties that ruled the Karnata Empire. By the time he came to the throne, the Bahmini kingdoms had become dismembered into five principalities the most important of which were Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and Golconda. Bijapur was the most powerful

and nearest to Vijayanagar. The kings of Orissa had become very powerful and extended their dominions as far South as Udayagiri in the Nellore district. We have seen that the Province of Udayagiri formed a part of the Karnata Empire in its early years. It is not known exactly when and how it passed to the Gajapaties. It is probable that it changed hands during the time of the last kings of the 1st dynasty. Orissa and the Mohamedan states combined, as we shall see, against Vijayanagar but Krishna Raya proved more than a match for them. Another important event of this period is the settlement of the Portuguese on the West Coast. Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498 and since that time, the Portuguese gradually strengthened their position there so that by the year 1505 they had a Governor of Portuguese India, in the person of Almeida. They were at this time purely merchants and through them, both the Hindus and the Mohamedans obtained their cavalry horses from Persia and Arabia.

Krishna Raya signalized his accession to the throne by building a tower to the temple of Virupaksha Swami at the Capital and by grants of Villages to the temples and Brahmins. From the beginning, he set his heart on winning back for the Empire those portions which had been lost to it in the expiring years of the 1st dynasty and which still remained in others' hands. These were the Raichore doab and the provinces of Udayagiri and Kondavidu. Before he could start on an expedition against these places, he had a small revolt to suppress at Ummathur after reducing the chief of this place named Gangaraja to obedience.

*Krishna Raya's Expedition against the East Coast:—*Krishna Raja Vijayam says that he marched against the territories of his Mohamedan neighbours. But Nuniz says that event took place in 1520 after the close of the campaign against the East Coast and this order I follow. Krishna Raya started on his Eastern expedition in the year 1513. His first aim was the fort of Udayagiri which was held by Pratapa Rudra Gajapati's uncle Tirumala Rauttaraya Maha Patra. The fort was reduced after a siege of nearly 18 months and Tirumala was taken prisoner. *Krishnaraya Vijayam* mentions the following as the Vassals of the Empire whose troops fought on the side of Krishna Raya on this occasion—Viz., the chiefs of Aravidu, Toragallu, Gobburu, Nandyala, Owk, Velugodu, and Ravela as well as the Tuluya lords and the Boyas.

*Siege of Kondavid:—*The King then proceeded against Kondavid taking in the way the small provinces of Kandukur, Vinukonda and the Palnad. The hill fort of Kondavid was considered impregnable and was defended by Virabhadra son of the king of Orissa assisted by generals Narahari Patra, son of Kumara Hamira Mahapatra, Janyaja Kesava Patra, Paschima Balachendra Mahapatra, Srinadharaju

Lakshmipati raju, Pusapati Rachi raju and two mohamedans Malla Khan of Raichur and Uddanda Khan. The Fort was taken after a seige two or three months and Prince Virabhadra and his generals were all taken prisoners and released after peace was restored. The fall of Kondavid is said to have taken place on Saturday the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashada in the Saka year 1437 corresponding to 23rd June 1515 A.D. Some inscriptions attribute the reduction of Kondavid to Krishnaraya's minister Saluva Timma who, Nuniz tells us, accompanied the King on this expedition, and use the chronogram *Saluvanka* to denote the year in which the fort was taken. Timmarasu was probably the second in command at the seige of Kondavid, the king himself leading the entire army.

Return of Krishna Deva Raya to Vijayanagara:—After this the king returned to his Capital leaving Saluva Timma as Governor of the new province, so that he might pacify the country. On his way he visited the celebrated temple of Amareswara in Amaravati on the banks of the Kistna, in the Guntur District where he made many gifts. He weighed himself against gold and distributed it to Brahmins. His queen Chinna Dēvi is said to have made the gift called Ratna Dhēnu (cow of gems) and his other queen Tirumala Dēvi performed the gift called the Seven seas. The King gave to the temple the village of Pedda Maddur for the merit of his father Narasa Nayaningarū and his mother Naga Devamma and two other villages named Nidumanur and Valluru free of all burdens to 108 Brahmins well versed in the four Vedas. On the same occasion, he granted two villages in the newly conquered country to his Purohit Ranganadha Dikshita. These gifts were made on Sunday the 12th of the dark fortnight of Ashadam in Saka year 1437 i. e., just a fortnight after the fall of Kondavid. The king then returned to Vijayanagara where he built the temple of Sri Krishna to commemorate his victory.

Krishna Deva Raya's Expedition against Kalinga:—Krishna Raya was not satisfied with taking back from the Gajapati the territories which the latter had wrested from the last kings of the first dynasty but wished to invade Gajapati's own kingdom and seize his capital Cuttack. Saluva Timma tried to dissuade him from this undertaking on the score of immense difficulties that beset it, for, the country through which they had to pass was hostile and difficult of access abounding, as it did, in hills and forests and considering the great distance between the destination of the troops and the base of operations there was every chance of their supplies being intercepted. Moreover, the Gajapathi was a respecter of Gods and Brahmins and was he not more fit to be befriended? These considerations did not appeal to the king and he decided to invade the kingdom of Kalinga. Saluva Timma accompanied him leaving his son-in-law Nadendla

Gopayya in charge of Kondavid. The King seems to have started again within six months of his return to the capital from Kondavid, for, we find him making gifts to the temple at Ahobalam in the Kurnool District in the month of pushyam in the same year, while on his way to Kalinga. We find him next encamping at Bezwada from where he visited the temple of Sri Andrha Vishnu at Srikakulam near Masulipatam and it was here, he tells us in his Amuktamalyada, that he received divine commands to write that great poem. He reached Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam District in the first month of next year (Dhata). Both he and his queens made valuable gifts to the great temple of that place. This was in March-April of 1517.

What happened at Cuttack:—The King met with little or no opposition in his passage through the kingdom of Kalinga and Saluva Timma's fears seemed to have been unfounded. But as he reached the capital of the country the king began to see evidences of the strength of the Gajapathi and his courage began to fail him. The Gajapathi was, after all, stronger than he (Kristnadeva Raya) thought and he excelled in the number and efficiency of war elephants. He had, moreover, 16 generals called Patros in that country whom it was difficult either to vanquish or win over. Fighting was thus attended with great risks and retreat was out of the question. In this predicament, Saluva Timma advised the king that the only way open to them was that of *bheda* i. e., causing differences between the Gajapati and his generals. He proceeded to execute his scheme at once. He ordered 16 jewel boxes in each of which he placed some valuable jewels and also a letter purporting to be from Krishna Deva Raya. He despatched the boxes by 16 messengers to the 16 Patros who suspecting that it was an attempt to tamper with their loyalty grew indignant, seized the messengers and placed them before their king who had the boxes opened and the letters read out. The letters ran as follows:—
 “Krishnadeva Raya king of Karnata sends his love to the sixteen Patros. — You have, according to your promises, furnished us with information regarding the several forts to the kingdom of the Gajapati. We are much pleased with you and send you these presents. You must do one thing now. The battle is to begin tomorrow. You should, while pretending to fight, deliver “him” into our hands. You may rely on our rewarding you in a fitting and handsome manner.”

At the reading of this letter both the king and the generals were dismayed. The king suspected secret correspondence between his own generals and Krishnadeva Raya and believing he could not rely on the loyalty of his Patros, he left the city secretly in the night and took shelter in a forest.

The next day the generals and the troops hearing of the king's departure, lost heart and offered little or no opposition to Krishna: devaraya, who entered the city with his army and established himself

there. Thus Saliva Timma's stratagem completely succeeded and the king's respect for him became greater than ever. Negotiations were subsequently opened by the Gajapati from his place of retreat and as Krishnadeva Raya's object was to humble the Gajapati rather than to annex his dominions he offered them back to him while, in gratitude, Pratapa Rudra offered his daughter to Krishnadeva Raya. On the return journey, Krishnadeva Raya visited the great temple of Simhachalam again and made a gift to it of two villages Pedagani and Aganampudi with their hamlets, which he had taken from the Gajapati for this purpose. This gift was made in the Saka year 1414 (A. D. 1519.) Thus ended their memorable expedition against Kalinga to which we find frequent references in the poetry of the time. There is a verse in Manucharitra which describes the Eastern Campaigns of Krishnadeva Raya. It compares the prowess of Krishnadeva Raya to a spreading fire which was first kindled by the steel of his sword striking the flint of the Udayagiri hill, and spread northwards consuming every thing in its way till it reached Cuttack compelling the Gajapati to flee in confusion. The Gajapaties were at this time the most powerful kings in Southern India after the Karnata Kings and Krishna Devaraya's greatest boast was that he vanquished the Gajapaties. We are told, in Manucharitra, that after the conquest of Kalinga, Krishnadeva Raya planted a pillar of victory at Pottunur (near Bhimilipatam) the writing on which was deciphered by the gods who attended the annual festival of the God of Simhachalam, by applying to it the lamp back which was the ill fame of the king of Kalinga. The pillar is not now to be seen.

Story of a marriage between Purushotama Gajapati and a daughter of the king of Kanchi: There is a beautiful story current in Orissa regarding the marriage of one of their kings presumably Purushotama Gajapati and a daughter of the king of Kanchi. The king of Kanchi was presumably Saluva Narasimha. He had a very beautiful daughter whom Purushotama sought to marry. Narasimha refused to give her in marriage, as Purushotama was inferior to him in caste. Purushotama made war on Kanchi and seized the girl whom he swore, in revenge, to marry to a sweeper. He did not carry the threat, however, into effect immediately and his ministers wished to prevent, if he could so cruel a fate overtaking so beautiful a princess. Not long after this came the "Dola Punnami", the day of the greatest annual festival at Puri. The kings of Orissa were hereditary sweepers to God Jagannadha and it was their privilege to personally sweep the floor of the hall in which the idol was placed on the "Dola Punnami" day. While Purushotamadev was performing this duty on the present occasion, his minister who had arranged to have the princess brought and placed by the king's side, suggested to the king that he should fulfil his word by marrying the princess

himself. The king who had by this time, probably begun to repent of his mistake was glad to accept the suggested solution of the difficulty. If there is truth in this story, Krishnadeva Raya only returned a compliment when he married the daughter of Purushottamma's successor and this may have been one of the objects of the expedition.

Expedition against Raichore:—Not long after his return from Kalinga, Krishnadeva Raya marched against the fort of Raichore which was then in the possession of Ismail Adil Shaw of Beejapur. The cause of this war is said to be the refusal of the Adil Shaw to deliver up a Mahomedan named Siddi Marcar whom Krishnadeva Raya sent to buy horses for him from the Portuguese at Goa but who instead of doing so, absconded with the money into the Bijapur territory. We are indebted to Nuniz for a detailed account of the siege of Raichore. He mentions the following Hindu captains and their forces.

The chief of the guard Kamanayak led the advance with Thirty thousand infantry, thousand horse and sixteen elephants. After him went Triambaka Row with Fifty thousand foot, Two thousand horse and twenty elephants. Then went Timmappa Naik with Sixty thousand foot, Three thousand horse and thirty elephants, and was followed by Adeppa Naik who commanded One hundred thousand foot soldiers, five thousand horse, and fifty elephants. Several others followed so that this Hindu army amounted to more than half a million infantry, Twenty-eight thousand cavalry and five hundred sixty elephants. The fort of Raichore was considered impregnable. Its ordinary garrison consisted of eight thousand foot, four hundred horse, and twenty elephants, and it was supplied with two hundred heavy pieces of cannon besides many small ones. The garrison was reinforced shortly before the arrival of the Hindu Army. Soon after the siege commenced Adil Shah came to the rescue of the garrison with his whole army. Krishna Deva Raya allowed him to cross the Kistna and then attacked him. A fierce battle ensued in the early part of which the Hindus lost so heavily that some of the troops began to flee followed by the conquering Mahomadans. "When the king saw the way in which the troops fled he began to cry out that they were traitors and that he would see who was on his side; and that since they had to die they should meet their fate boldly according to custom," "who ranges with me" he cried and immediately a great many captains with their troops thronged round him. The King harangued to them and said the day had arrived when the Adil Shaw could boast he had slain the greatest lord in the world but that he should never boast that he had vanquished him. "Then he mounted a horse and marched with all his remaining divisions commanding to slay without mercy every man of those who had fled." This had the desired effect. The entire army fought as one

man and fought so well that within a few hours the Mahomedan army was completely routed and Adil Shaw himself and some of his captains escaped under false disguises. The annihilation of the Mahomedan army was prevented by the king who "out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault".

The king after that retired to the fort the garrison of which surrendered. The next day the king made a state entry into the city accompanied by his generals, sent for the principal inhabitants and assured them and the rest of the population through them that their property and persons would be quite safe. At the same time he issued stringent orders to his troops that there should be no plunder or other form of excesses. Krishnaraja Vijayam mentions one Pemmasani Ramalinga as Krishnaraya's chief generals on this occasion.

This was the last campaign of Krishnadeva Raya. He lived for nine years after this which he seems to have devoted to the improvement of the internal administration of the country.

State of the country in Krishna Raya's time:—We learn from the accounts of the two Portuguese writers that in the time of Krishnadeva Raya the Empire was in a highly prosperous condition. The country was thickly peopled and had many cities. The lands were fertile and well cultivated. There were innumerable irrigation tanks throughout the country so much so that writing at the commencement of the 19th Century, Sir Thomas Munro said of the Ceded Districts that wherever a tank could be constructed it had already been constructed by the Hindu kings. Nuniz mentions that Krishna deva Raya had a very extensive reservoir constructed not far from his capital and that its water was taken to the city of Vijayanagaram in pipes for drinking and irrigation purposes. In order to encourage extensive cultivation under this reservoir, waste lands were assigned free of assessment for the first nine years.

We are unfortunately not yet in possession of information about the incidence of land tax in those days nor the exact relation in which the cultivator stood to the state.

The country was parcelled out into provinces which were held on feudal tenure. Several of the feudal lords were hereditary princes. We find that the provincial governors and sometimes their subordinates made gifts to temples generally for the spiritual benefit of the king. Sometimes endowments to temples took the form of remission of local cesses of which several seem to have been levied in those times. An inscription dated in Saka year 1452 in the reign of Achyuta devaraya, says that Rayasam Ayyaparaju Governor of Gandikota remitted the sum of 235 Pagodas being the amount of Durgathannayakavarthanalu (fort cess and commander-in-chief's cess) which were then being levied in the villages belonging to the

temple of Bhairava Swami at Mopur in the Cuddapah District, so that money might be spent for the car festival of the temple every year. An inscription of Saka year 1466 in the reign of Sadasiva Raya shows that Nandyala Timmaya Deva Maharajulu who was then Governor of Gandikota remitted not only the two cesses referred to already but also the cesses known as "bedige, kanika kathalu and all other cesses" in all the villages belonging to temples and Brahmins. *Paes* mentions that duties were levied on all goods entering the city of Vijayanagar. This seems to have been done in all important cities and it also appears that the duties varied with the value of the goods and the rates were fixed by the Government from time to time.

An inscription at Kondavid of the time of Krishnadeva Raya dated saka year 1442, says that Nadendla Gopa Mantri who was then acting for his uncle Saluva Timmarasu as Governor of Kondavid assigned to the temple of Sri Raghunayaka which he had built recently in that city, the duties levied on certain articles entering the city limits. The inscription gives a long list of the articles taxed and the rates to be charged per bag load of each. The lowest class comprised salt, mangoes, brinjals, etc., which were charged at half a paikam (about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pie of modern money) per bag. Green gram, black gram, and all other grams, wheat, gingelly, tamarinds etc., were all put in one class and charged at a paikam., or $\frac{3}{4}$ pie per bag. There are other articles mentioned in an ascending scale of duty until we come to sandal-wood, lead, copper, etc., which were charged at six dammas or about three quarters of an anna per bag.

The Portuguese writers say that the practice of Sati was in vogue in the time of Krishnadeva Raya. It is impossible to believe this, for the Hindu writers of this period make no reference at all to this matter and we have been brought up in the belief that the customs had died away before that period.

System of warfare in Krishnaraya's time: The system of warfare had undergone a change since the time of the Puranas. Chariots fell into disuse and in their place, artillery had made its appearance. We are told that siege guns were used both at Raichore and Kondavid. War elephants were still in use. They accommodated on their howdas a number of fighting men who discharged missiles from there and the elephants themselves wrought great havoc with the swords tied up to their trunks. Cavalry formed part of a Hindu army from the most ancient times and we see the kings of Karnata endeavouring to improve their cavalry by bringing horses from the Portuguese. The weapons used by the soldiers were arrows, swords, muskets, daggers, and spears.

The use of artillery was yet in its infancy, so that the chief wings of an army at this time were, infantry, cavalry and elephants. The strength of the Karnata kings was in their Infantry, so, they

called themselves Narapatīs or lords of men. The kings of Orissa had more war elephants than any other king, and on this account, they called themselves Gajapatīs, while the Muhamadans were, by the Hindus, sometimes called the Asvapatis on account of their superiority in cavalry.

Caste of the Tuluva kings:—Nuniz says that “the king of Bisnaga is a Brahmin”. Of course, he is wrong. The Tuluva kings claimed to be Kshatrias of the lunar race and traced their descent from Turvasu son of Yayati. This claim appears only in the records subsequent to the usurpation by the family of the Karnata throne and is not found in the Telugu *Varahapurāṇam* which was dedicated to Krishnadeva Raya’s father while he was Saluva Narasimha’s general. On the other hand, we find that in almost all the inscriptions in which his name appears prior to the usurpation, Krishnadeva Raya’s father was referred to as Narasa Nayaka or Narasanayanīgaru and the latter term is met with in two inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya’s time—the Amaravati inscription of Saka year 1437 and Simhachalam inscription of Saka year 1439. The terms Nayaka and Nayanīgaru are usually applied to sudras and seldom to Kshatrias. We have again some books composed at Tanjore during the time of the Nayak kings and they show that the Tanjore Nayaks who were admittedly Sudras claimed relationship with the Karnata Kings. In the poem called *Vijaya Vilasam*, for instance, which was dedicated to Raghunadha Naik we are told that Chevva or China Chevva the founder of the family rose to greatness by marrying Murtimamba, younger sister of Tirumala Meha the queen of Achyuta Raya (Krishnadeva Raya’s brother and successor). This is confirmed by another poem called, Raghunadha Nayakabhyudayam from the pen of Raghunadha’s son and successor Vijaya Raghava. These considerations seem to suggest that the Tuluvas were probably Sudras.

The position of Brahmins:—The Brahmin Law held an important position in those times. Nuniz gives them credit for being Vegetarians. They were, in his opinion, “honest men given to merchandize, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed but little fit for hard work” They were unfit for hard work, they are said to have “carried the kingdom on” by the duties they undertook.

He is rather hard on the poor Brahmin priests who, he says, “were very despicable men, because they always have much money, and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check.” Paes is more considerate. He also speaks of two classes of Brahmins, one class that are “officers of towns and cities and belong to the Government of them and also merchants”. The other class he speaks of are priests and lettered men of the Pagodas whom the king honoured much. The Brahmin

we are told, were all married had very beautiful wives but the wives were very retiring and very seldom appeared in public.

It seems that there were many in the country even then who called themselves Brahmins but "they led a life very different from that of the real Brahmins to whom the king pays much honour and he holds them in great favour."

Saluva Timmarasu:—An account of Krishnaraya's life and time would be incomplete without reference to his great minister Saluva Timma or Timmarasu. Paes and Nuniz tell us that he was a Brahmin and we learn from the telugu poem *Rajasekhara charitra* that he belonged to the Aruvela sect. He does not seem to have been one of these brahmins, "who had not stomach for arms", for, he seems to have been a great soldier and to him is attributed the reduction of the fort of Kondavid. In those days most of the important officers in the state seem to have been also soldiers and the word mantri (minister) and Danda Nayaka (commander of forces) were often used indiscriminately in speaking of the same individuals.

The Aruvela people seem to have been so called from the district in which they originally resided and which is called in inscriptions the Shatsahasra or Aruvela country i. e., the country of six thousand villages. This is described as having been situated on the southern bank of the Krishna river with Dharanikota in the modern Guntur district as its capital. It was in former times usual to call a country by the number of villages it contained, for instance, we have the Pakanadu, twenty-one thousand, the Kammanadu sixteen thousand and the Pallinadu three hundred. The Aruvela country was sometimes called Kronnadu or the new country but this name was less common.

Aruvela Brahmins:—The Aruvela brahmins were a highly progressive class in those times of which we are considering. We have seen that as early as the reign of Bukka I a man named Vinukonda Chandra Mantri was the king's treasurer, a very responsible appointment then and another man of the same family held the same appointment under Harihara II. Saluva Timma was the Prime Minister of Krishnadeva Raya as well as his elder brother and predecessor and his brother Govindaraja was Governor of the city of Vijayanagara. Timma's nephew and son-in-law Nadendla Gopayya was Governor of Kondavid for a time and his brother Appayya governed the Gutti province at the same time. It is probable that many more of this class filled up less exalted positions. Public service became the avocation of this class to such an extent that they came to be called Niyogis to distinguish them from the other Brahmins who are called the Vaidikis. I learn that there are two classes of Aruvela brahmins in Mysore now one called the Aruvelas and the other Vaidikis.

GOVINDA DEEKSHITA

The minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings

By N. K. VENKATESAM M.A., L.T.

About four miles to the south-west of Kumbakonam, is a village known as Patteeswaram or Dhēnupuram. It is a renowned place of pilgrimage, situated on the northern bank of the river Tirumalairajan, a branch of the Cauvery. The region in which the shrine is situated is known as the Sakti Vana, and tradition says that, when in this Vana or forest, Ambikā or Parvathi was performing her *tapas* (meditation) in order to become one with Paramasiva, *Patti*, 'one of the four Kanyakas or maidens sent by Kamadhēnu for doing service to Parameswari, made a *Linga* of sand and was worshipping it day after day in her own private *Puja*. The *Linga* that was worshipped by *Patti* is known as *Patteeswara* and the place where it was worshipped came to be known as *Patteeswaram*. In Samskrita, the names of the place and of the *Linga* are Dhēnupuri and Dhēnupureeswara. The Goddess is called Gnānāmbika—the Goddess of Divine Wisdom. In the yard, just in front of the Garbha—Gr̥ha (the Holy of Holies) of Sri Gnānāmbika, stands the majestic figure of one whose name is ever closely associated with Patteeswaram and also that of his Dharma-Patni. The oriental minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings of the sixteenth century stands there in his quaint oriental state-garb, with the long robe and with the curious head-dress of the day, the Devotee of Gnānāmbika, and he has beside him his accomplished and true Patni, the devotee of the simple Brahmana, Govinda Deekshita. To the generation that is slowly passing away just now, the name of Govinda Deekshita is a house-hold name in the part of the country, known as the Chola Dēsa, and traditions concerning him have therefore become many and interesting. His active and exemplary life as a true Brahmin at home and as a great statesman and minister at the court of the Tanjore Nayak Kings during a period of nearly three-quarters of a century has naturally made his name permanent and his fame eternal.

Govinda Deekshita was a karnataka Brahmin of the Āsvatayana Sutra of the Rigveda and his wife's name is ascertained to be Nagamba. Tradition has assigned to Tirunāgēswarem, a sacred shrine about 4 miles to the South-east of Kumbakonam, and to Patteeswaram, the honour of having been the place where the minister lived and spent his private life. But the fact that the images of Govinda Deekshita and his wife are in the temple at Patteeswaram and that the ruins of his house are still pointed out at Patteeswaram,

combined with the fact, which is very important indeed considering the age in which he lived, that the river Tirumalairajan, a branch of the Cauvery, which runs beside the village of Patteeswaram maintains somehow an almost perennial supply of water, even in the summer season, when the Cauvery itself is dry in the Tanjore District—a very important requisite for a Brahmin of the type of Govinda Deekshita, may go to show that Patteeswaram was the place selected by Govinda Deekshita for his private residence, rather than Tirunāgēswarem which has not these traditions or facilities for residence. A place called Tiruppālatturai, near Pāpanasam, in the Tanjore District, is also mentioned as the place where Govinda Deekshita lived. But, as has been said above, the name of Govinda Deekshita is closely associated with Patteeswaram and so we may quite fairly hold that the minister lived with his family in his house at Patteeswaram, on the bank of the river, where the ruins of a Pushya-Mantapa or bathing-ghat and the ruins of a portion of a wall of his house and of four pillars, said to have been at the entrance to his house, mark the site of his residence, according to tradition.

It is said that he left his mortal body in the Sannidhi of Sri Gnanambika at Patteeswaram, where the images of the Deekshita and his wife are at present. It is also stated that he left his body in the Sannidhi of Sri Mangalambika at Kumbakonam. Life-like images of Govinda Deekshita and of his wife are now worshipped at Patteeswaram, while *Lingas* known as “Govinda Deekshita Linga” are worshipped in the temple of Kumbheswara at Kumbhakonam and in the temple of Panchanadeesa at Tiruvadi, a famous shrine seven miles to the north of Tanjore and known as Dakshina Kailasa. Thus, Govinda Deekshita has passed from the category of men and even of great hero-souls, and has been deified and is worshipped as a saint in at least three famous temples in southern India. This is sufficient testimony to his true greatness.

Although it is certain that Govinda Deekshita spent the best years of his life in the Chola country, as the minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings, yet it seems to be clear that he was originally a native of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. From what has been related by Brama-sri Narasimha sastri garu, the late Dharmādhikāri of the Mysore palace, himself closely related to the family of Govinda Deekshita, it appears that Govinda Deekshita was a native of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and that at a very early age, he acquired fame for his learning in the sacred lore of the Hindus. He appears to have been also an accomplished astrologer. He is said to have been a very pious Brahmin, strict in the performance of his daily duties, as became the order of his birth or Varnāśrama.

The way in which the young, learned and pious Brahmin, Govinda Deekshita found his way into the Chola Desa, as the minister

of the Nayak Kings of Tanjore is thus stated by tradition. Govinda Deekshita used to perform Agni-Hotra every day, in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Shastras. He had a Nayak servant by name *Chavappa*, whose duty was to tend the cows, maintained in the Deekshita's house for the Agnihotra. One evening, seeing that the Nayak lad, who had gone out with the cows for grazing them, did not arrive at the usual time, and seeing that the cows were not ready for yielding milk for Agni-hotra, the pious and kind-hearted Deekshita started to find out the lad. On his way he saw, to his intense astonishment, the lad fast asleep under the shady branches of a tree, and the shining hood of a holy Cobra waving gently to and fro over the head of the sleeping lad, as if holding the Svētacchatra or the white umbrella over the head of the future king. Seeing this, the Deekshita felt at once that the lad was born to be a king at some time, and returned home with the lad and the cows with immense satisfaction. The lad in due course entered the service of the king, and worked out his way to king-ship ultimately. The story is also more simply related in another way. Govinda Deekshita, himself a good astrologer, examining the palm of the lad who was his servant found that the lad Chavappa was destined to become a king one day in his life. The prophesy was fulfilled when Chavappa did rise to the position of a king in due course.

Chevappa or I am Sevappa:—Apart from tradition, it is a historical fact that in the middle of the sixteenth century, once Chevappa Nayak ruled at Tanjore, over the tract of country known as the Chōla-Dēsa. This tract seems to have covered roughly, the present District of Tanjore and parts of the present Districts of Trichinopoly and Madura, as well as of south Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput. This portion of the country was then under the rule of the kings of Vijayanagara, and the story is that Chavappa married Murthimamba, the sister of the queen Tirumalamma, wife of king Achuta-Devaraja and obtained the southern kingdom as his dowry. Tradition says that when the lad Chavappa married the royal maid, Govinda Deekshita, then at the court of Vijayanagara, was deputed by the king to visit the vast regions which were under the sway of the king of Vijayanagara at that time, and find out a suitable tract for being given as dowry to Chavappa Nayak, that Govinda Deekshita accordingly travelled about and found that the Chōla Dēsa, especially in the Deltaic portion of the cawvery, was the most fertile tract and as such worthy of being given as dowry to Chavappa. The special interest taken by Govinda Deekshita in this matter is explained not merely by his attachment to the court of Vijayanagara, but also by the fact that Chavappa, had been his own servant, before he entered the service of the king, and had the fortune of marrying the Queen's sister. Tradition says that Chavappa had been a very intelligent lad

from his early years and that Govinda Deekshita introduced him into the palace. Ever since his introduction into the palace, Chavappa exhibited his extra-ordinary intelligence in various ways, and soon rose higher and higher in the king's esteem. A story about Chavappa handed down by tradition is interesting in this connection. Once when a certain letter of state received by the king, and just over-heard by the servant boy Chavappa, while being read in court, had to be reproduced in the absence of the original, mislaid somewhere, the boy Chavappa repeated the whole letter word for word. He thus showed his genius, which roused the admiration of the king. It is no wonder that such a lad became the royal son-in-law and a ruling prince also.

When Chavappa was thus presented with the Tanjore Principality and sent out to bear independent rule over the Province, he took with him, it is needless to say, his master, his best friend and well-wisher—Govinda Deekshita. Tradition goes so far as to say that Chavappa, instead of accepting the kingdom for himself, requested Govinda Deekshita to rule the kingdom himself, that Govinda Deekshita refused to accept the gift, as he—a Brahmana—was debarred from ruling a kingdom, but agreed to be Chavappa's minister. It is said that Govinda Deekshita then crowned Chavappa as the King of Tanjore and he himself became his minister. Govinda Deekshita, who must have been then in the prime of his life, was a learned man, well-versed in Vedic and Shastric lore, well-versed also in astrology and Music. He was besides a pious Brahmin, scrupulous in the discharge of his public duties, as the minister of Chavappa Nayak.

II

The history of the Nayak race at Tanjore was all too brief, for the race began with Chavappa in the middle of the sixteenth century, and ended with the fourth king Vijayaraghava Nayak in the middle of the seventeenth century. Govinda Deekshita began his career as a minister under the first king Chavappa, continued as the minister of the second king Achutappa, and seems to have been helping in the administration of the third king Raghunatha Nayak, for a few years in the beginning of his rule.¹ The statement in the District manual that Govinda Deekshita was minister under the fourth king is obviously based on the mistaken identity of the second king Achutappa with the fourth king Vijayaraghava, known as Achutanayak and also as Achuta Vijayaraghava Nayak. This

1 Chavappa Nayak. (1549) to (1572) (?)

Achutappa Nayak. (1577) to (1614)

Raghunatha Nayak. (1614) to (?)

Vijayaraghava Nayak. (?) to (1662)

A short History of the Tanjore Princes by T. S. Kuppaswami Sastri (in Tamil),

conclusion seems to be incredible, when we see that between the first king and the fourth king there is an interval of nearly a century, so much so, that, even if Govinda Deekshita, like the illustrious unbearded English Minister Pitt, be considered as having become the minister of Chavappa as early as, say, his twentieth year, when Vijayaraghava ascended the throne about the middle of the seventeenth century, he must have been more than a hundred years old. There is no tradition that Govinda Deekshita lived to such an advanced age and we have also no record of his work under the fourth Nayak king. From references which will be given later on, it will be seen that Govinda Deekshita was minister under the first Nayak king and so it seems to be unlikely that he was also minister under the fourth king. It seems to be clear, therefore, that Govinda Deekshita's career as minister came to an end in the first part of Raghunatha Nayak's reign.

An inscription in Tamil of 1549 A.D., refers to "Chavappa Nayakar" and "ayyan"¹

The word "Ayyan", a derivation of "Arya" meaning noble, was generally used for Govinda Deekshita, out of respect. In the reports of the archaeological survey, he is referred to as Deekshitar "Ayyan" "Chavappa Nayakar ayyan" occurs also in an inscription of 1577.²

These two inscriptions show not only that Govinda Deekshita was the minister of the first Nayak king Chavappa, but also that he was so closely associated with the administration that his name was mentioned with the king's name in the inscriptions of the time. This

1. The inscription runs as follows: Sriman-mahâ-mandaleswara rajâdhi-raja râja-Parameswara Sri veerapratâpa sri Veera achuta-Deva-raja Mahârâjan Prithivi Râjan Panni Arulâninra sakabdam 1654 idanmâl sellaninra Nandana Samvatsaram Karkata-nayittu purva-pakshattu saptamiyum sôma-vâsa-ramum petra hastâ-nakshatrattu nal vâhalamallappa Nâyakkar puttiran dâdappa Nayakkar Tanjâvâr pilliâr Alagêswara pilliarâna Toppâram ketta pilliaruppu tiruppani perumâl nayinârku Tiruppanikku Kodutto dharma Sâsana-pattayappadi innoyinârku tiruppani parama devadânâmâha koduthu solamandalam Tiruchinapalli usâvam Tanjâvâr sirmai Kâveri-yâtru terku-karai Nityavinodha-vala-nâdu milâttu-ayiva-singam-rajan-pâttaî keerummatâtta Palakkar sinnappa nâyakkar avargaludiya punniyamahavenum enru koduttha Tanjainagara.

Karkataka nâyutru purva-pakshattu Saptamiyil sôma-vâsâramum petra.

2. Subhamasthu: Swasti Sri Sakabdhham 1499.—idanmâl sellaninra vehudânya-varusham âni-mâsam 12-tâdi sôma-vârum prathama Kâluttu Sêvappanayakar-ayyan-achuthanâyakkar-ayyan Tanjâvur-tatâruckku kodutha dharma-sâsana patta-yam Kandanolu narayakka gurunâthan singappalli Nâghâpatta sêshâ satirippum solla tangalirai Kali-(μ)ppittapadiyâtê chandiraditta varaiyum sarvamâ-nyamâha nadakkavum inda darumatthukk ahidam panninavan Gangaikkaraiyile Kâm-râmpasuvaikkonra pâvattile pôhakkadavârâ-havenu. Inda darumatthai ahidam panninavan âyiram lingattai-pidungina doshattile pôhakkadavan.

fact also confirms the feeling of respect which Chavappa always had for his benefactor and counsellor, Govinda Deekshita. A Tamil stanza in the Tamil version of the *Sihala Māhāthmya* of Tiruvadi (Stanza 18)¹ of 1605 refers to Govinda Deekshita as the inspirer of the Tamil rendering of the Purana, which was in Sanskrit. The year 1605 takes us to the latter part of the reign of the second Nayak king Achutappa (1577-1614). Yagna Narayana Deekshita, in his drama entitled Raghunatha Vilasa, says that when the play was acted, the king Raghunatha and the minister Govinda Deekshita were seated on the same simhasana or Royal throne, the minister sitting close to the king.² This shows that in the reign of the third Nayak king, Raghunatha also Govinda Deekshita continued to enjoy the full confidence of the king, and the author of *Sāhitya Ratnākara* says also that Govinda Deekshita taught politics to Raghunātha Nayak. It appears, however, that Govinda Deekshita did not live beyond this reign, for except the reference in the District Manual, dealt with already, there seems to be no other evidence to show that Govinda Deekshita was minister to the fourth king also. The scene of the coronation of Raghunatha Nayak in 1614 is described in beautiful and flowing verses by Yagna Narayana Deekshita in his “*sāhitya Ratnākara*.” It appears that his work was written prior to the play “Raghunatha Vilasa.” In the poem, Yagna Narayana Deekshita gives a fine description of the state of the Chola Desa in his day and refers to a war between Raghunatha Nayak and the then Pandyan king, in which the Nayak king defeated the Pandyan king and married his daughter. To honour the victorious king in verse, Yagna Narayana Deekshita wrote his play entitled “Raghunātha Vilāsa”, in which he speaks of the glory of the king and the reputation of his father, Govinda Deekshita. All these circumstances go to show that Govinda Dhekshita must have been the prime minister of Raghunatha Nayak for at least a few years in his reign. If we grant that he was

1. “மலிபுனல் சூழ்சோண்டு தஞ்சையிற் காத்திசுமரசர் மதியமைச்ச
னெலிமறைதேர் கோவிந்த தீட்சதராயன் திருவாக்குடைமையாலே
கலியுகத்துச் சகனாண்டு மூவைஞ்ஞாற்றிருபதின் மேற்காணுமேழாய்ப்
பொலிவருடத்தை பேரற்றுப்புராண வடமொழி தமிழாற் புகலுற்றேன்”.

2. “Raghunatha Vilasa,” Scene I.

अस्य श्रीरघुनाथ भूवलरिपोर घ्यासि ताघोसनः

प्रज्ञा वैभवखण्डितप्रतिवदत्पाषण्डषण्डमयः

कुर्वन्व्याक्रिययानिविशुत्तरं कौमारिलं दर्शनं

गोसा नित्यगवीरसै विजयते गोविन्दयज्वा अग्नीः ॥

at the Nayak court, till, say, 1620, then Govinda Deekshita must have occupied the ministerial chair for nearly three quarters of a century.

That Govinda Deekshita could have been the minister of the Nayak kings for such a long period appears quite likely, considering the enormous change that was effected in the Chola Desa during that period. The description of the country given by Yagna Narayana Deekshita certainly makes us think that all that tract must have been turned into a veritable Paradise in South India; the position which it holds even to-day, by the efforts of the Nayak kings and their able minister, Govinda Deekshita. The first king, Chavappa, is said to have been very charitably disposed. He is said to have given grants of lands to persons and institutions, as is seen from the inscriptions referred to already. It was also under Chavappa's direction that the temple and the gopura at Tiruvannāmalai in the present North Arcot district were rebuilt. An inscription in the temple and the existence of an "ayyan" Kulam (tank) and "Ayyan" street in Tiruvannāmalai go to show that Chavappa and Govinda Deekshita must have adopted an extensive plan of charitable works in order to beautify and improve the territories which were under their sway. The canal known as Chavappan Eri, near Tanjore, owes its origin to the effort of Chavappa Nayak undoubtedly.¹ Further it is stated that the present port at Tanjore was built when Chavappa began his rule there, in accordance with the plan of Govinda Deekshita who designed the fort and had it built in the form of what is known as Garuda Vyūha, so that the fort when looked at from a height, presents the appearance of a Garuda (the Vāhana of Māhā Vishnu).

The scheme of public works started by Chavappa seems to have been continued during the following reigns also, because the state had the great advantage of a continuous policy under the guidance of Govinda Deekshita. The second Nayak king Achutappa, known also as Chinna Chavappa, esteemed Govinda Deekshita, as much as Chavappa had done, for he is said to have looked upon him as "Kulakootastha purohit"—the counsellor of the originator of the Dynasty, and also as "Kulamanthri"—the minister of the Dynasty. From a reference in the Sahitya Ratnakara, we see that as the consequence of a Karnataka war, Achutappa, the second King, had to give up the throne which was ascended by Raghunadha Nayak. A whole canto treats of mantralochana (secret counsel) of King Achutappa with his minister Govinda Deekshita and his son. The same honour seems also to have been shown to him by the third king, Raghunadha Nayak

1. Tradition has it that Brahmachari (Kannodian) who dug the canal from the Tambraparni, known as the Kannadian Kal was the servant of Govinda Deekshita (vide—the story of the canal in the Annual Report of the Madras Archæological survey for 1903-04—P. 84-85).

as has already been said. Yagna Narayana Deekshita says that Govinda Deekshita placed the sacred ashes (Vibhuti) on the fore-head of Raghunadha Nayak in the place of the usual *Pattam* or the gold plate—the mark of Royal authority customarily placed on the fore-head of the king at his coronation or *Pattābhisheka*.

Pattābhisheka is the act of sprinkling water on the *Patta* (which has been affixed to the fore-head) and thereby consecrating it, as is done at the installation of a King or Guru, formal inauguration or coronation, when all persons present throw flowers, akshata etc. on the person crowned.

Glossary I—P. 28. Report of the Madras archaeological survey 1903—03.

This is particularly note-worthy as showing the tolerance of the king who was by faith a vaishnavite and his regard for the sage-like minister Govinda Deekshita.

It is no wonder then that for a period of nearly seventy years, the Chola country had the rare opportunity of being improved steadily, in the peaceful reigns of the first three Nayak kings and under the able guidance of the state by a genius like Govinda Deekshita. It was in the reign of the third Nayak king that troubles seem to have slowly invaded the peaceful palace of the Nayak kings, and it was exactly then that the master-hand of Govinda Deekshita was removed from the helm of the state by providence. It is with great pity that we must now look upon the all too brief story of the Nayak race at Tanjore, after the figure of the Govinda Deekshita was removed from the state. For we learn that the next Nayak king, Vijaya Raghava was not only the next in succession to Raghunadha, but was also the last of the race at Tanjore, the rule of the kingdom then passing on to the sturdy Maharashtra kings. A small tradition in this connection is somewhat interesting to recount. Although the Nayak kings were Vaishnavites by faith and Govinda Deekshita was an advaitic Brahmin of the saivite persuasion, yet during the rule of the Nayak kings at Tanjore, both Siva and Vishnu temples were equally well attended to by the state and the Brahmins were always treated with the respect due to them in accordance with the Shastras. The temples at Chidambaram, Kalahasti, and Tirupati seem to have been renovated in the reign of the second King, Achutappa Nayak. It is said that Raghunadha Nayak and Govinda Deekshita renovated the Ramaswami temple at Kumbhakonam and had the whole of the Ramayana pictorially represented on the inner walls of the temple. There are to be seen even to-day, several of the representations in every bad state of disrepair, calling for immediate attention. The Vishnu temple of Sri Mushnum in the South Arcot District, the temple at Rameswaram etc., seem to have been renovated by Raghunadha Nayak and Govinda Deekshita. It is worthy of note that an inscription of the reign of

Chavappa, relating to a grant of land to the Fakirs at Tanjore, places a heavy moral penalty on those Mohammadans that chose in any way to interfere with the right vested in the Fakirs. This exhibits the extra-ordinary tolerance of the Hindu kings for the followers of alien faiths. While the first three Nayak kings held the balance between rival faiths in the state, the fourth king, Vijayaraghava Nayak, grew some-how to be a rank Vaishnavite, and tradition says that this was the reason why the Nayak rule came to an end with him, because he left off the evenness of temper so essential for a king, and became a partisan in his religious faith and hence in his public conduct as king.

III

It is now time to turn to some of the work of charity with which the name of Govinda Deekshita is closely associated. It has been said before that Govinda Deekshita and his wife are worshipped in the form of a life-size images in the temple at Patteeswaram, while Lingas known as "Govinda Deekshita", are worshipped in the temples at Tiruvadi and Kumbakonam. Generally in Siva temples, only the Saivite saints are worshipped, and it is only in one Siva temple that the image of Sri Sankaracharya is placed and worshipped, viz., at Conjeevaram. It is not usual to have images of *Smarthas* (the saivites who follow 'smritis) in temples for worship; while so, Govinda Deekshita and his wife alone have had this unique honour. To have had such Divine worship granted to them in this age, Govinda Deekshita must have done something which could be expected only from the Divine Being. When we examine the traditions, we have no doubt that Govinda Deekshita was a typical Brahmin in his private life, and did his work always as a servant of God. It has been said before how, when Chavappa offered the crown to him, Govinda Deekshita not only refused to accept it, true Brahmin as he was, prevented as such by the Shastras from being a ruler, but he also agreed to be Chavappa's counsellor instead, in accordance with the injunction of the Dharma Shastra—that it is the Brahmin's fundamental duty to advise the ruler and always work for the good of the state and of the happiness of the people by means of Tapas, yagna, counseletc. To us now it may sound rather fanciful if I should speak of Govinda Deekshita as the truest type of the Brahmin contemplated in the Hindu Shastras. He was minister of such a glorious type for a long period. His life was almost co-eval with the rule of the Nayak kings at Tanjore in the sixteenth century. He led a true Brahmin life at house. It is said that he never was without "*Agnihotra*" at home. It is said that he would perform his *agnihotra* at the exact times at the 2 twilights (*sandhyas*) and proceed from his residence at Patteeswaram in his palanquin to Tanjore

during the day to perform his ministerial functions, at the fixed hours of the day. It is said that in his house there always glowed the "Tretāgni" (the three Fires-gārhapatya, Ahavaniya and Dakshināgni—to be tended in every Brahmin's house incessantly, his own, the eight fires of his eight sons and that of his one son-in-law). Is a house of that type to be called the abode of Gods or of men? No wonder Govinda Deekshita had not merely the grace of the Divine Being, but himself became Divine in his own life. He performed the various yagnas (sacrifices) laid down in the Veda and distributed charities widely and brought into existence many permanent institutions known by his name to this day—It is said that he gave the sixteen mahādānas (great gifts) ordained in the smritis, and known as "Shodasa mahādāna" and that the sixteen Lingas around the Mahamakha tank at Kumbhakonam were established there by Govinda Deekshita to mark this great event and to invoke the grace of Isvara for the good of the world. Again it is said that he gave one Agrahāram in the name of each Tithi (day of lunar month) and that the village now known as Ichangudi (ஈச்சங்குடி) in the Tanjore District is still called the Ekadasi Agraharam. It is said also that in commemoration of the completion of all the Yagnas by Govinda Deekshita, after he performed the Yaga known as Sarvatomukha, he set up four grand pillars. This incident is referred to by Yagna Narayana Deekshita in his "Raghunadha Vilasa"¹. None of these pillars is, however, to be traced now. In several villages *Sambhavanās* are made in the name of Govinda Deekshita on important days, even to this day. It is also said that the third King Raghunatha was blessed with the throne for helping Govinda Deekshita in the performance of the Yāga known as Vājapeya, in which the king himself held the umbrella over the head of Govinda Deekshita². All this is confirmed by the titles used in referring to the Deekshita. In Tantrasikhamani

1 चत्वारः कृतसर्वतोमुखमहासत्रेण गाढं शिला-

धूपायेन निरवानिनाः प्रतिदिशं युक्तं चिरावस्थितेः

सौराज्यं रघुनाथभूमिपतिना संप्रापिते क्षमातले

पारेसह्यमुतं वृषेण वसता पादा इव स्थापिताः ॥

2 , रथ्यावास्तिकधैनुका श्वगजतामुरव्यानाहदक्षिणं

वर्षादाप्ता पदोत्तरं क्रतुवरं तंवाजपेयभिधम् ॥

मेनाहार्यकिमप्यहार्यविभवंसाम्राज्यं लक्ष्मीपदं

संप्राप्तो रघुनाथम् शतमरवो जेजीयतेसाम्प्रतं ॥

(तन्त्रशिरवामणिः) a commentary on the Mimamsa sutras of Jaimini by Sir Rajachudamani Deekshita, Govinda Deekshita is referred to in these terms:—

श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्यसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रसाग्विच

त्यसर्वतोमुखसाग्निचित्याप्तवाजपीयया

जिश्रो गोविन्ददीक्षितवरसुनीः¹

These go to show not merely the god-like life led by Govinda Deekshita, but also the vast learning of the Deekshita, to which we shall refer presently.

To speak about a few things in which we have his name even to-day, the Ayyan Kulam (tank) and the Ayyan Kadai (Bazaar) in Tanjore, Ayyanpet, a village between Tanjore and Kumbakonam, on the South Indian Railway, Ayyan Vaikal (canal)—an irrigation channel north of the Coleroon, starting from the Akhanda Cauvery, the Ayyan theru (street) in Tiruvannamalai, already referred to are some in which we have the name of Govinda Deekshita to this day. Again the Yāgasālā street and the Yāgasālā Mantapa at Kumbakonam are said to mark the place where Govinda Deekshita performed his Yagas on the banks of the Cauvery. A house in the West Ayyan street at Kumbakonam used till recently to be pointed to as his house at Kumbakonam and it is said that all the members of his class used till recently to perform marriages etc., in that ancient family house. It is said that he built the temples at Kuttālāun, Tirupalathurai and several other ancient shrines in South India. It is said that the celebrated Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam owes its present condition to Govinda Deekshita. In connection with this, a story is told, that, when the Nayak king doubted the sacredness of the mahamakham tank, Govinda Deekshita, by his Pūja to Gangā Devi, made the Goddess stretch her hands above the water and receive his oblations, thus proving to the Nayak king the sacredness of the tank, which attracts millions of pilgrims to this day. It is said that on seeing this wonder, the king gave gold equal to his weight for the renovation of the sacred Mahamakham tank. A work of sculpture in the Mantapa on the bund illustrates this tradition. Govinda Deekshita provided the tank with an extensive flight of steps all around the tank, no where else so constructed, and also erected mantapas and gopuras for the sixteen Lingas all round the bund of the tank. These are some of the items in which we still see historical evidence of his unbounded charities. It is said that on one occasion when Govinda Deekshita was proceeding in his palanquin to the mouth of the

1. Colophon Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts. Vol. IX. 1910 (Mādras) P. 3300.

Cauveri for a cold bath, his palanquin happened to pass a street in Mayavaram.' It is said that an old Brahmin did not get up as he should have done out of respect for the great minister who was proceeding in his palanquin, in accordance with the immemorial custom of the Hindus, but instead asked if the minister had any extra-ordinary power and if he could turn that old street which ran east to west into a street running north to south. This flouting challenge reached the ears of the minister, who, at once ordered that before his return from the bath, the street should be razed and a new street running from south to north should be laid immediately, leading straight to the bank of the Cauvery and that the best house in it should be provided for the old man who thus flouted him. It was done accordingly before his return from the bath. Govinda Deekshita also formed streets known as Mahādhāna streets in important shrines, on this plan, as for instance at Madyārjunam (Tiruvilai Maruthur on the S. I. Ry.) and Swētāranyam or Tiruvangādu. It is said that Govinda Deekshita constructed also bathing ghats, pushya-mantapas in various places such as Tiruvadi, Kumbakonam, Patteeswaram, Madyārjunam, Tiruvalanjuzhi, Vriddhachalam etc. The village known as Deekshita Samudram (or Mullakudi in the Tanjore Dt.) and Venkata Samudram (or Varahur, near Tirukkattippalli in the Tanjore Dt.) seem to be connected with Govinda Deekshita and his son Venkata Makhi.

Above all, Govinda Deekshita seems to have done much for the temple at Patteeswaram, his own favourite place. In the temple there is an image of Ganapati in the front court-yard first opposite to the small tank, concerning which there is an interesting tradition. The Ganapathi is called Āgiṇa (order or command) Ganapati. It is said that originally there was a fine big Mantapam in this first yard of the temples and that, when the Nayak king ordered the materials of the Mantapa to be removed for the use of some other temple, Govinda Deekshita sent word to the king that it was the command of the Ganapati that those materials should not be removed. The king, being a Vishnavite by faith, wanted a sign of the power of the Ganapati; and asked if the water poured over the image of Ganapati would flow down as milk. Govinda Deekshita said, "yes". The king at once tested this, and found that the word of the Deekshita was true. The king then rescinded his order to remove those materials from the temple and even gave a separate grant of land for the worship of that Ganapati, apart from the general temple funds. This continues to this day. In connection with the temple at Patteeswaram, there is another interesting tradition which is worth recording. It is said that, when Govinda Deekshita was residing at Patteeswaram, following his rigorous orthodox life at home and doing wonderful work, as minister at the Nayak Court at Tanjore, always

utilising the public funds for the public weal, by daily doing some charitable work or other, and thus endeavouring to make life healthy and happy—the true end of a well-organised state—, one day it happened that he saw before his house an old faithful servant of his then gone to the regions of the dead a few years. He was a chandala and for his faithful service to his master, he had been, according to his rank in the social scale, made a messenger of Yamadharmaraja the virtuous God of Death. He had that day gone thither to take away the life of a well-skilled mason, who had just then been engaged in the renovation of the southern Gopura of the temple, under the supervision of Govinda Deekshita. Worshipping his old master, the messenger of Yama, told Govinda Deekshita that he was then employed in the kingdom of Yama by the blessing of the holy Deekshita, that he had gone over to him to tell him what he had seen, and heard in heaven, that, while his name was extolled in heaven for all his glorious acts on earth, there was yet one item of charity to which he had not turned his attention, viz., the establishment of Nandavanas, public flower-gardens for purposes of Puja. To show that he was speaking truth and that he was in fact the messenger of Yama, he said that he was, under the orders of Yama, gone thither then to take away, at a mentioned hour, the life of the skilled mason who was working in the temple at that time. Govinda Deekshita, desiring at once to save his trusted mason from death, attempted to evade the dictates of Providence, and bringing the mason down from the Gopura, locked him up in a room in his house and had the key safely with himself. But as fate would have it always, the Deekshita afterwards forgot all about it and when, just before that fatal hour, his service was most required for placing a huge stone in position at the top of the Gopura, some one asked Govinda Deekshita for the mason's service; and all forgetfully he allowed the mason to go and do the work in which the Deekshita had all his interest engrossed. The mason went, placed the stone in position, but received a hit from his own tool, lost his position, fell headlong from the height and expired at the exact moment fixed for his death by the ruler of destiny. The Deekshita learnt the news and then consoled himself with the thought that his effort to save the mason was an act opposed to the law of Gods; and taking hint from the incident, he thought of the information given to him by the messenger of Yama regarding himself and proceeded at once to establish Nandavanas in different parts of the country. A stone image of a man in lying position outside the temple at the entrance to the southern Gopura of the temple at Patteeswaram is shown to this day as marking the place where that illfated mason met his death.

This tradition is interesting as showing us two things, that Govinda Deekshita made extensive repairs and thoroughly renovated

the temple at Patteeswaram and that at a certain period of his life, he set about establishing Nandavanas far and wide in the Chola Desa. In many places people point to such Nandavanas as having been established by Govinda Deekshita. In imitation of those nandavanas evidently, the institution of Nandavanas in all villages has become an ordinary feature in the Chola Desa. The place called Govindapuram to the east of Madhyārjuna, is said to have been the site of one such Nandavana, and the name of the village suggests its connection with Govinda Deekshita.

We have thus reason to think, both from traditional accounts and existing institutions, that the scheme of public works and charities planned and executed by Govinda Deekshita must have been a grand and an extensive one. It is no wonder that a tract of country, which Govinda Deekshita by his reforms and works with the willing co-operation of the Nayak kings, turned into such a fertile and beautiful tract, now has no parallel in south India, with its net work of temples, gardens, bathing ghats, Pushyamantapas, irrigation-channels etc. Yegnanarayana Deekshita's description of the Chola Desa, referred to before, cannot be considered to be mere poetic imagination, when we realise the work done by the state in this tract of country, during the later part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. An inscription at Patteeswaram on the northern wall of the inner eastern Gopura of the temple, shows that Govinda Deekshita sacrificed his self for the state, using every part of the state's wealth for works of charity, for the good of the people, and never showed the least self-interest in his actions¹.

We shall now turn to that item of his work, which has been most enduring and which shows the true genius of Govinda Deekshita. He was himself a very learned Brahmin and he realised the importance of culture in the life of a state. It was really with the eye of a true genius that he realised the importance of a far-seeing educational policy in the state, and established in the Chola Desa, which was under his ministerial jurisdiction, a net-work of Pātasalas for the teaching of the Vedas, Vedangas, Vedantha and the Shastras of the Hindus. The Raja Patasala at Kumbhakonam, which traces its origin to the days of Govinda Deekshita, is still a centre of learning. Similar Patasalas are still seen in different parts of the Chola Desa. These Patasalas took the places of the ancient Gurukulas and really were educational centres of great importance and are still so to a certain extent. Hundreds of scholars in that part of the country, owe their learning to this Patasala system inaugurated by Govinda Deekshita in the sixteenth century. The Patasala system has not

1. The inscription is in a mutilated condition. It runs thus:— चर्माभि.....

lost its vitality even now and the value of the system is still recognised far and wide. It will be quite easy, I venture to think, for our Matāthipathis and truly public spirited Hindus who have hearts for the maintenance of Dharma and culture in the pure Hindu form in Aryavarta, to establish a regular university on truly Hindu lines, having these Patasalas as the nuclei. There is good scope for organised practical work in this direction in the Chola Desa.

IV

Thus far I have dealt with the life of Govinda Deekshita as the minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. I have traced the origin of the Nayak rule at Tanjore in the middle of the sixteenth century, briefly related the chief features of the Nayak rule in the Chola country, the connection of Govinda Deekshita with the state, and the public works he did as the minister of the Nayak kings, almost throughout their career at Tanjore. It is now time to turn to the man Govinda Deekshita and record what is known about him and say a few words about his family and private life. Govinda Deekshita was first a man and then a minister. He owes his greatness as much to the purity and dignity of his private life as to his multifarious activities as the minister of the Nayak court. He discharged his ministerial functions as conscientiously and as perfectly as he could. In his *pravritti* or "going forth" as a minister, he never allowed himself to forget that the true end for a Brahmin was *nivritti* or "drawing in". I have already related how every day from his earliest years, he would regularly and punctually perform his Agnihotra enjoined on every true Brahmin as Nithyakarma. I have also related how he, in his life, performed all the yajnas which have to be performed by every true Brahmin and how he directed several of his charities along lines which would make life worth-living for people in the Chola Desa. The benefits of these works carried out by Govinda Deekshita are still enjoyed by the Hindus in Southern India, while Govinda Deekshita thus led a perfect life at home as a true brahmin, and while in the state he was so active and so beneficent in everything he did, he was also a very learned man. This has special significance in these days when most of our educated men think that eastern culture saps the roots of progress, instead of watering them. The value of the life of a man like Govinda Deekshita, who, perfectly steeped in eastern culture, was not dreaming in the wilderness and wasting away his life in the mere search after Brahman, as eastern culture is supposed ignorantly by many to lead to, but mixed so actively in public life, while he did not swerve an inch from the path of karma laid down in the Veda, is really inestimable, especially in the modern age, when we are living amidst "dilettantism and mammonism" to use the expression of Carlyle. Here was a person, in this

very Kaliyuga, the age of Thamas or Inertia, the age of growing vice, hardly 300 years ago, who was a learned brahmin, who led a truly brahmine life, and who did in the state, work, which several generations of ministers and statesmen have not been able to do and cannot hope to do in much longer time than was available to Govinda Deekshita. There is proof that god was in him, in and out.

Govinda Deekshita is always referred to as "*advaita Vidya-charya*" (the master of "advaita" or "monistic" knowledge) by Sri Raja Chūdamāni Deekshita in his Tantrasikhamani, referred to already. Govinda Deekshita's son, yagna Narayana Deekshita, refers to him as Sri Pada Vākya Pramāna Pārāvāra Pārīna srimad advaita Vidyāchārya. Yagna Narayana Deekshita, in his "*Sahitya-ratnakara*"¹ and in his "*Raghunadha Vilasa*"² says that Govinda Deekshita had "*advaita vidya*" as his special study, that he churned the ocean of the six systems of Philosophy (shad-darsana) and gave the Amrita so churned to all learned men. This reference shows that Govinda Deekshita was not merely a learned man, but also engaged his leisure hours in imparting his learning to others. Venkata Makhi, another son of Govinda Deekshita, in one of his songs says that his father taught and thus firmly established the faith of Sri Sankaracharya—viz. advaita.³ It is said that, while Govinda Deekshita was one day engaged in expounding to his disciples the commentary of the "*Brahma Sutras*," known as "*kalpa Taru*" of Bhamati, a gloss on the Sutra Bhashya of Sri Sankaracharya, the great Appiah Deekshita, (born 1554) whose name is held in high esteem to this day in Southern India, then a young man, visited Govinda Deekshita. The two great Deekshitas had been brought together for the first time on the occasion of Govinda Deekshita's performing the Yajna known as Sarvathomukha at Madyarjunam.

1 అద్వైతవిద్యావి భవావలంబానోవింద్యజ్వేంద్రగురునూపాసే ।

నిర్మత్య షడదర్శనతొరథోమ్యే ధియేవ సారం దదతే బుధేభ్యః ॥

2 షడదర్శనాభినవధుగ్ధసర్వరీణ్యో నిర్మత్య యత్తరహితం నిజయా ధియేవ ।

విశ్రాణ్యన్నుదిన్విబుధాల్లీ నామేతద్రసం మురరీపుం భువి యోఽతిశేతే ॥

3. కుంభగోణైమధురీ నిత్యనివాసురే బరి

యాప్తసారం పాఠీరే ।

శంకరముని మత ప్రతిష్ఠాపన కోవిదు

గోవిందాధ్వరి నాగాంబిక మత

వెంకటముఖచంద్రు పరిరచిన్నరే

కైవర ప్రబంధ మవధరయ.

Appiah Deekshita originally belonged to a village known as Adayapalam near Arni in the present North Arcot Dt., and his descendants are still living in the Tanjore Dt. On this occasion of their second meeting, Govinda Deekshita asked the young Appiah Deekshita to give him an idea of his learning. when Appiah Deekshita very modestly expressed himself and said that he knew no Vedas or Shastras, but that he was an ardent devotee of Iswara who had Chandra Kala (चन्द्रकला) on his head and who destroyed Tripura.¹ The acquaintance between the great men developed soon and Appiah Deekshita stayed away with Govinda Deekshita, collaborating with him in the noble task of imparting Brahma Vidya to their disciples. Govinda Deekshita struck with the learned and apt explanations given by Appiah Deekshita, admired him for his genius and asked him to write a commentary on "Kalpa Taru", saying in a humourous way that the Kalpa Taru which would give all to humanity needed the benevolence of Appiah Deekshita's expression for its showing its inherent power.² It appears that Govinda Deekshita himself wrote a concise treatise on the shad-darsana, which he taught to his disciples.* He is also reputed to be the author of a special commentary on Kumārila Darsana, a mimamsa work. Appiah Deekshita quotes from this work "Siddhanta Lesa Sangraha," he refers to Govinda Deekshita as "Advaita Vidyacharya."

Venkata Makhi, otherwise known as Venkateswara Deekshita, says in his *Chaturdandi Prakasika* that his father Govinda Deekshita wrote also a work on music known as *Sangeeta Sudhanidhi*.³

1. नाहमधीतवेदे नचपठितोयत्रकुत्रचित्छास्त्रे ।
किन्तुधरेन्दुवतंसिनि पुरहिंसिनि भूमसिभक्तिः ॥
2. अप्पदीक्षित किमित्यतिस्तुतिं
वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्यताम् ।
सोऽपि कल्पतरुर्धर्मसिद्धये
त्वद्विरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते ॥

Taru = tree; refers also to the commentary known as "Kalpa Taru".

Vāk = word—refers to his power of exposition and to the inherent power of helping mankind (by its power to give all—as the tree—and to help all to knowledge—as the commentary).

3. ततो नुरधुनाथेन्द्रमेलविणा निरूप्यते ।
तल्लक्षणं नु संगीतसुधानिधिरिति श्रुते ॥
चेव्वमाच्युतभूपालरधुनाथ नृपाङ्किते ।
अस्मत्तातकृते ग्रन्थे प्रोकाश्लोकांलिखामितान् ॥

It appears also that Govinda Deekshita wrote a work of Jyōtisha (astrology), as is seen from the reference made by the author of the Tamil work known as "*Thandava-malai*".¹ It also appeared that Govinda Deekshita wrote a commentary on the *Sūndara Kāṇḍa*, of the "*Ramayana*." It is a pity, however, that none of these works are extant, but we hope to get one or more of these works in course of time. In the absence of any of his works in original, we are unable to form a correct estimate of his erudition and style. There is a sloka, however, which refers to his vast learning by saying that Achyuta and Govinda, the first and the last of the three holy names of God, Achuta, Anantha, and Govinda, were king and minister respectively and that they were respectively master of Astra (weapons) and Sāstra (holy texts) and were skilled respectively in war and sacrifices (Yajnas).²

Govinda Deekshita's wife's name is given as Nāgāmbika or Nāgamāmba by Venkata Makhi. It appears that Govinda Deekshita had 8 sons and daughter. There is a tradition that his daughter died of Rājadrishṭi (the look of the king). One day, when the king paid a visit to the Great Minister at his residence, Govinda Deekshita's accomplished daughter took the harathi to the king, as is the custom on such an occasion. The king naturally was pleased with the accomplished lady, but unfortunately she died. It is said, afterwards by the evil effect of the look of the king, as is believed in by the Hindus. It is said also that one of his sons, an expert player on the *Vina* met with early death, as is believed, in consequence of the admiration of the king. The king, it is stated gave away all his royal ornaments to the young son of Govinda Deekshita, but that in a few hours afterwards he died of the effect of *Rajadrishṭi*. Tradition says that it was then that Govinda Deekshita

1. (1) இன் னூலென் னூலின் வழித்தெனின், "மாவிந்தை சோதான் மலாடி வணங்குங், கோவிந்த தீட்சிதீயத்தின் வழித்து" எனக்கொள்க.

(2) கோவிந்த தீட்சிதர் தங்கொள்கையினுற் கூறுகின்ற

மாவிந்த தூலின் வழக்கறிந்து தேவிந்

திசர்போற்றும் பிண்டியஞ் செல்வன் சீர்கூறி

வருவண்ப்பாவையன்வந்து. P. 261, 262, Report of skt. and Tamil manuscripts for 1896-97, Madras.

2. He refers to himself as the third son of Govinda Deekshita and Nagamba in his Chatur Dandi Prakasika

इति श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्य.... श्रीगोविन्ददीक्षित नागाम्बावरतृतीयनन्दनस्य समिचि त्य सर्वकृत्याजियज्ञनारायणदीक्षिताय्यव हितानुजस्य, अच्युतविजयराघव भूपाल प्रेरितस्य वेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कृतौ चतुर्दशप्रकाशिकायां.....

pronounced a curse on his clan, that wealth and beauty should not adorn his child at any time and the members of the Deekshita's clan still believe in the curse.

Of his other sons, we know prominently of two, viz., Yajnanarayana Deekshita and Venkateswara Deekshita, known as Venkatamakhi. Yajnanarayana Deekshita was a friend of the Nayak king Raghunatha, in whose praise however he wrote the play known as "*Raghunatha Vilasa*", already referred to. His master-piece "*Sahitya Ratnakara*" has also been referred to. He wrote also a Champukavya known as "*Raghunatha Bhupa Vijaya*." Besides being a great poet, he appears to have mastered Vyakarna (Grammar), Tharka (logic), Mimamsa (the science of interpretation) and Advaita Vedanta.¹ Although we do not hear of any separate work on music as written by Yajnanarayana Deekshita, we still see that he had cultured taste in music, as well as in the science of dancing or Bharatha Sāstra, from the references found in his work. A whole canto, the 8th in his *Sahitya Ratnakara* gives a detailed description of the technicalities of the science of music. His son Venkatesa Deekshita was a scholar in Jyotisha (astrology) and his work "*Jathaka Chandrika*" has been translated into English by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao. Chokkanātha Deekshita, the guru of Rajachūdāmani Deekshita, in the preface to his "*Bhashya Ratnavali*" says that he was induced by Venkatesa Deekshita to write that work. Venkatesa Deekshita or Venkata Makhi, the brother of Yajnanarayana Deekshita, is a familiar figure in the world of music. His treatise "*Chaturdandi Prakasika*" marked a turning point in the history of South Indian music. Mr. Subbarama Deekshita in the preface to his "*Sangita Samprathaya Pralarsini*" published under the patronage of the Raja of Ettayapuram, says that Venkata Makhi wrote his "*Chathurdandi Prakasika*" under the patronage of the 4th Nayak king Vijaya Raghava and that it is still a standard work in the science of music. It was he that rendered the old 22 Swaras to 12 and designed the present Vina adopted to the 12 swaras. It appears also that Venkata Makhi was the author of the Melakartha as is in vogue at present in southern India. The Hindus believe that through any form of knowledge, one could realise Brahman and obtain spiritual force power. Venkatamakhi is believed to have had such realisation by the science of music. Tradition says that when the 4th king Vijayaraghava Nayak became an aggressive Vaishnavite and compelled his subjects to put on the *Sankha* and *Chakra Mudras*, Venkatamakhi went to Madhyārjuna and praised the Deity in the

1. पातञ्जलं भाट्टमतं च तर्कमद्वैतराद्धान्तमवैमिकीर्तेः प्रबन्धसंदर्भ भौः कवित्वविद्यामिदानीं
विशदीकरोमि ॥ *Sahitya Ratnakara* I-51.

temple in a melodious song¹ and prayed for the freedom of the subjects from their religious suffering that was inflicted on them by the king. The king, it is said, who was suffering from a terrible form of stomach-ache hastened to issue a proclamation allowing freedom of religious faith and practice to all his subjects in accordance with the eternal custom of kings in India and was then freed from his stomach-ache. Venkata Makhi composed several songs and they are given in the "*Sangeeta Sampradaya Pradarsini*." In his songs, he refers to his learned father Govinda Deekshita, his mother Nagamba and his talented brother Narayana Makhi and his maternal grand-father. He takes pride in referring to himself always as the son of Govinda Adhvani and represents his parents as the incarnations of Parvati and Sankara.² It is needless to quote his songs in large numbers for our present purpose.

It appears also that Venkata Makhi wrote two other treatises *Karmāntha Mimamsa*, a work on the mimamsa Sastra, and *Vārthikābharanam* also a work on the same Sastra.³ He says he learnt Mimamsa from his brother Yagna Narayana Deekshita, whose disciple he was. Venkata Makhi's disciple was Neelakantha Deekshita the author of *Siva Leelarnava*, which describes the Leelas of Sri Minakshi Sundareswara of Madura (published at the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam). Neelakantha Deekshita was the grandson of Appiah Deekshita's brother and it is said that Appiah Deekshita asked his grand-nephew to stay with Venkata Makhi and learn the sastras at his feet. The beginning of his work in which he speaks of the nature of poetry and the characteristics of a poet is couched in a style which discloses much resemblance to the style of Yagna Narayana Deekshita. An image of Neelakantha Deekshita, as seated on horse-back, is placed in the Sannidhi of Sri Minakshi amman at Madura.

1. శంఖచక్రంత వత్సచరణే.

2. ఆరుంధటి కిరియం బుధితే నిరుంధటియరేరే సర్వతోముఖ ముఖ్య క్రతుపవనితరి నాగయాంబారే । పదనారాయణ మఖిప్రలేయ చలప సంకుసంజత చిన్నవస్సార్వభీదవి శంకర ఆవతార గోవిందాద్వరణే నాగమాంబారే ॥

3. In the *Gangavatharana Kāvya*, Sri Neelakantha Deekshita says that he was the disciple of Venkata Makhi, the author of *Vārthikābharanam*, that Venkata Makhi was of the Vashista Vamsa and that his father was Govinda Deekshita, and that he (Govinda Deekshita) wrote a commentary on Kumārila Darsana, a Mimamsa work.

वार्तिकभरणग्रन्थनिर्माणव्यक्तनैपुणः ।

श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरमखीशिष्ये मरयनुकम्पते ॥

Sri Raja Chudamani Deekshita, the author of "Tantrasikhamani", a commentary on the Mimamsa Sūtras of Jaimini, says that he was induced by Venkatesa Deekshita to write his work. The terms in which he refers to Venkatesa Deekshita show that Venkatesa Deekshita also performed several Yagas, (sacrifices) and was a learned scholar.¹

In drawing this short and imperfect account of the great sage and minister, Govinda Deekshita, I have no hesitation in asserting that the study of the life and work of this great personage of modern times is sure to be a source of great inspiration in this age to all those of us who have a love of our country, her glorious past, her inimitable culture and her grand institutions, social, religious and political, which still have that vitality in them which was imparted to them by the ancient Rishis of Aryavarta. The life of one like Govinda Deekshita, who lived and worked among us only 300 years ago is bound to strike our imagination and to appeal to our sentiments more even than the lives of those ancient Rishis and statesmen of whom we read in our puranas and Itihasas. Here was one who was perfect as a statesman and as a man, who ever walked in the path of God. His work in the state converted the whole Chola Desa into a veritable Earthly paradise. His religious devotion has left several institutions in the land which are bound to keep his fame and name green in our memories for ages to come. One story is enough to show how Govinda Deekshita was ever ready to help all to the best of his ability—one day while he was taking a walk he saw a young man uttering a sloka and ardently praying to the Sun for his grace. The Deekshita approached the young man and heard him uttering a sringāra sloka (a piece of poetry containing sringāra rasa or element of love) and not a song of devotion as he thought it was. On asking the young man, the Deekshita was told that the young man, desiring to be married and well established in life, had appraised a guru of his desire, that that Guru had given him that sloka for prayer to the sun, and that he had since then been continually praying to the sun with that sloka, not knowing anything as to what it meant. The Deekshita heard him and was amused. Seeing the young man's ardent devotion

1. श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्यसर्वतन्त्रस्वस्तिग्निचित्पाप्रवाज
पेययाजि श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षितनियोगानुभवसमुन्मि
षितमनीषाविशेषम्.....

and sincerity, the Deekshita took the young man with him and got him married and well-established in life.

In social matters, Govinda Deekshita appears to have been a permanent court of arbitration. One description at Patteeswaram shows how the class of weavers, known as *Patnūlkars* always went to him to settle all family disputes among them. Even now, when difficulties arise among this class of people, they go to Patteeswaram and in the presence of the image of Govinda Deekshita, settle their differences. Govinda Deekshita was an authority in Dharma Sastra. He was a true Brahmin and performed all the sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. He was a master of politics and he steered the ship of state very successfully and gloriously for nearly three quarters of a century. At the end, he gave up all his estate, palace etc., to God and resigned all Karma-phala (the fruit of his actions) and had for his Vibhava or wealth only his Advaita Vidya and realised his Atman. He gave up all and in the last days of his life, he retired and spent his time in Thapas in the Sannadhi of Mangalambika at Kumbakonam, as is popularly believed, and left the mortal coil to evolve from the prison house of mortal life and join the great Rishis of Aryavarta, in the regions of immortality.

Thus passed out of sight this illustrious sage of the sixteenth century. Govinda Deekshita was a true hero while he lived and became a God after his death. As has been said at the out-set, Govinda Deekshita is now worshipped as a God in the form of *Linga* at Kumbakonam and at Tiruvadi and as an image at Patteeswaram. He has beside him at Patteeswaram his consort, his Dharma Patni, Nagāmba, the two standing there to-day as if to illustrate the famous line of Milton, "*He for god only, she for god in him.*"

THE PAMULAVAKA COPPER PLATE GRANT OF AMMARAJA II VIJAYADITYA *

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

This is one of the two copper-plate inscriptions discovered recently by Sree Raja Vatsavāya Lakshmi Narasimha Raju Garu at Pāmūlavāka village, in Narasipatam Taluk of Vizag Dt. They were rescued from the hands of a local vaisya who had them pledged to him by a ryot, who found them in a pot, while digging earth in his land in the village. The rings and the seals of both the plates were used by the ryot for making bangles. The seals, it seems, contained the figure of a boar. The two inscriptions were handed over for study to my friend, Sree Raja Vatsavāya Venkata Neeladri Raju Garu of Tuni, who, in turn, handed them over to me for deciphering and publishing the same in this Journal. The two sets have since been acquired for the Society.

This is the smaller and the older set which contains only three plates measuring each $7\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The edges of all the three plates have been raised into rims, so as to protect the writing. The first plate has no letters on the obverse side, which serves the purpose of a cover. It is rather thin and contains on the reverse eight lines. The second plate is thicker than the other two plates and is written on both sides which contain eight lines each. The third plate is again thin and worn out and bears signs of containing some old writing which is beaten off and reimposed with the new matter which is written on the obverse side only and which comes to five lines. The whole inscription, therefore, written on four sides only, contains but twenty nine lines of matter.

As usual, there is a hole, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the edge of the plates, through which the ring containing the seal passes. As stated above, neither the ring nor the seal, into which the two ends of the ring will be soldered, is forthcoming, having been melted away. But it is learnt that the seal had the image of Boar and other symbols on it, which are usually found in all plates of E. Chalukyans.

Language and Alphabet:—

The language used is Sanskrit. It is partly in verse and partly in prose. The script is telugu of the tenth century with an admixture of Canarese letters. The letters are round and beautifully written. In words like mūt̐tē, savva, vajjita, bhayya, puvvatah, the letter 'r' (rēpha) is represented by doubling of the consonants which follow it.

* This paper was read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting held on 7-4-1928.

The Anusvāra is represented by a dot placed at the right top and sometimes it is represented by Nasal. The letter 'ॐ' in Rechādi Vishaya (L. 28) is a strange letter whose sound is still found in Tamil.

Subject matter of the Inscription:—

This inscription relates to a grant made by Ammaraja II, who was Vishnuvardhana VI and who had a second name, Vijayāditya. He was the younger son of Chalukya Bhima II, born to Lōkamadēvi. We learn from later inscriptions that he was succeeded by his elder half-brother, Dānaraja who ruled for three years according to some accounts and thirty years according to other accounts. This king Ammaraja had the three paramount titles, viz., Mahārāja, Paramēswara, and Paramabhattāraka which became fixed from his time. His seals in other plates contain the title, 'Sree Tribhuvanāmkuśa' (The glorious Elephant-Goad (ruler) of the three worlds). He had also the title 'Rajamahēndra' which came to be applied to his capital, Rajamahendrapura.

The first five lines of the inscription give the usual Chalukyan titles (please vide translation). From line 6 to line 21, we get the list of Eastern Chalukyan kings of Vengi who were descended from Kubjavishnuvardhana, the founder of the line and the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra (Pulikesin II). The list gives the names of twenty-one kings, with their regnal periods. (Please vide translation): Lines 22 to 24, give the titles of Ammaraja, the donor of the grant. Lines 25 to 26 state that the village heads (Rāshtrakūta Pramukhān) and cultivators were assembled to note the Royal order. Lines 26 to 27 state that the grant was made to one, Kuchēna, the grandson of the glorious Chamēna and the son of Betōna and his wife Jarākavva, in the Chāadvishaya and Bārupunādu Rechādi vishaya, with the exception of what was already granted to Gods and Brahmins. The boundaries in the East:—(Left incomplete).

The inscription does not mention the boundaries of the grant made. Also, the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses are omitted. The names of the scribe and the executor are also not given. It is not possible to account as to why this inscription was thus left incomplete. Probably, the grant was never actually made.

But this inscription is, however, important inasmuch as it shows that the grant was made in the Elamanchi-Kalingavishaya and that the Eastern Chalukyan Empire during Ammaraja's time extended to Elamanchi Kalinga (Modern Vizag Dt.). So far, the inscriptions of this king were discovered in Guntur, Krishna, and Godaveri Districts only. The following inscriptions of this king have been published in the Indian Antiquary Vols. VII and VIII, XII, and XIII and also in Epigraphia Indica:—

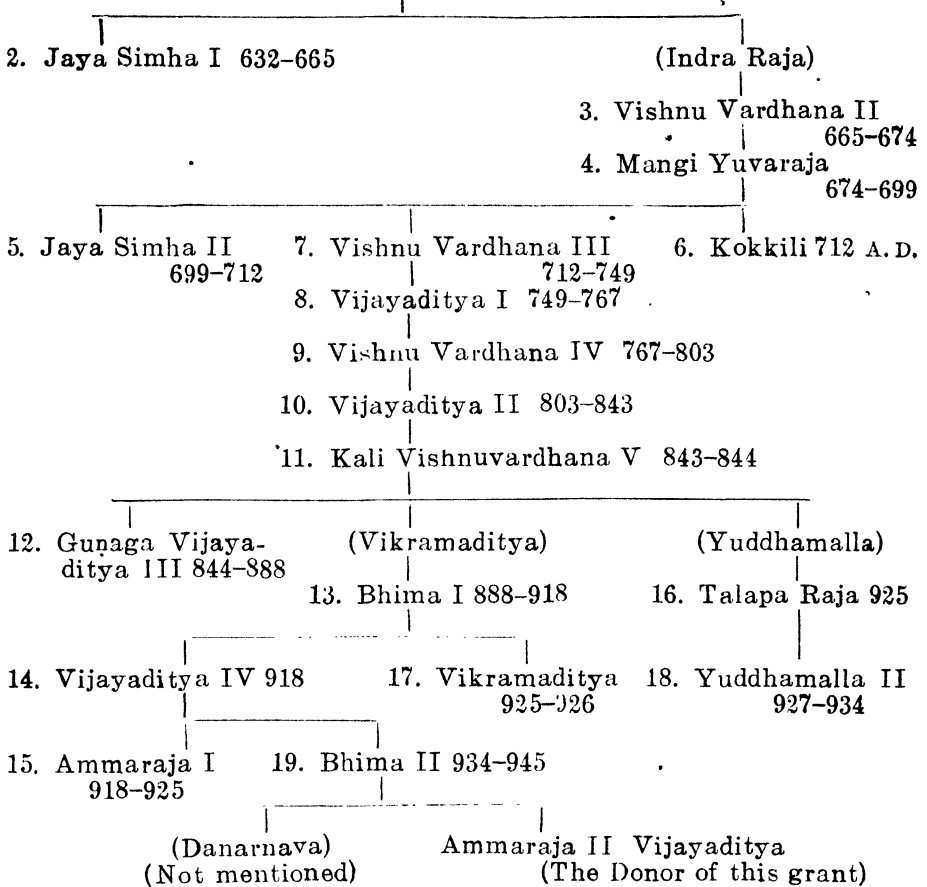
1. The Padakaluru grant which gives his date of accession in Śaka Era, corresponding to 5th December, 945 A. D.
2. Pamarru grant which mentions Ammaraja's gift to Bodiya of Pattavardhani dynasty.
3. Yelamarru grant.
4. Gundukolan grant.
5. Kanchumarru grant which mentions his gift to Arhanandi, a Jain guru of his keep.
6. Mallipudi grant which mentions his gift to a Jain temple of Bezwada which was built by Durga Raja, one of his generals.

In Andhra Patrika Ugāli Sanchika, dated April 1921, the late K. V. Lakshmanrao, published the Arumbāka C. P. grant of Bādapa Mahārāja. The first sixteen lines of that grant give the Genealogy of the East Chalukyan kings from Kubjavishnuvardhana to Ammaraja II and practically resemble the language and alphabet of this grant. The names of kings and their regnal periods are identically the same. Bādapa in his grant states that Ammaraja II protected (ruled) Vengi along with Trikalanga with justice but the latter's regnal period is not given. Badapa states that, with the help of Kaṇṇa Raja (Krishna of Rashtrakuta dynasty) he defeated Ammaraja II and drove him out of the country. This Badapa is the elder son of Yuddha Malla II (927-934) and bears Sovereign titles. Probably, he ruled over Vengi during the supposed anarchic period after Danarnava's rule, i.e. from 973-999 A. D. But from the grant itself, we get a different story. There is no mention of Danarnava. The regnal period of Ammaraja is not given. Badapa even defeated him with the help of Krishna, the Rastrakuta king and drove him out of the country (probably into Kalinga) and ruled over Vengi. According to the writer, there is an unpublished grant (C. P. No. 1 of 1916-1917) of Ammaraja which states that he ruled over Vengi for 11 years and then went to Kalinga leaving the throne to be ruled over, with his consent, by Danarnava. Evidently, this was the period of strife and civil war between the two collateral houses of Vikramāditya and Yuddhamalla, the sons of Kali Vishnuvardhana (843-844 A. D.). There may be truth in the statements of Badapa about his own rule over Vengi and it is easy to note the motive for the later rulers (Saktivarma, Raja Raja etc.) to omit the name of Badapa and to describe the period as one of anarchy.

From the present grant, we get the following genealogy. The chronology is arranged from the date of accession of Ammaraja II (5th December 945 A. D.) given in his Padakaluru plates (Indian Ant. Vol. 7. P. 15). Though the present grant gives a reign of 48 years to (10) Vijayaditya II, a period of 40 years only is allowed to him as is given in most grants—

The (younger) brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhendra (Pulikesin II),

viz. 1. Kuba Vishnuvardhana I 614-632 A.D.



Ascended the throne on 5-12-945,
in the 12th year of his life and
ruled for 25 years as revealed by
later inscriptions of Raja Raja I
and Kulottunga Choda Deva.

TEXT *

First plate, second side.

- Om ** svasti sri matām sakalabhuvana samsthūyamāna mānavya-sagôtrānām
2. Hārītiputīānām Kauśikivaraprasāda labdhā¹ rājyānām² mātrugaṇa paripāli
 3. tāmā³ Svāmi Mahāsēna pādānuyēnām⁴ bavannārāyaṇa⁵ prasāda samā
 4. Sādita varavarāha lanchhinēkshaṇakshaṇa vasikrutārati⁶ maṇḍalā
 5. nāmaśvamēdhāvabhṛta snāna pavitrikṛta vapushām Cālukyānām Ku
 6. lamalamkarishnōh Satyāśraya Vallabhēndrasya bhrātā Kubja vishṇu vardhdhanō⁷ shtā
 7. daśavarshaṇi⁸ Vemgīdēsa mapālayat tatputrō Jayasimha straya strim
 8. śatah⁹ tadanujēndra rājanandanō Vishṇuvardhdhanō nava tatsūnu rmam gi yu

Second plate, first side.

9. varājah pañca vimśatim tatputrō Jayasimha strayōdaśa tadavaraja
10. Kokkili¹⁰ śaṇmāsān tasya jyēshtō bhrātā Vishṇuvardhdhana stamuccā tya saptatrim
11. śatam tatputrō Vijayāditya bhāṭṭarakō shtālasa tatsutō Vishṇuvardhdha
12. na śaṭtrimśatam tatsutō Vijayāditya narēndra mrgarāja
13. schōshtācatvarim¹¹ satam tatsutah Kalivishṇuvardhanō dhdhyar-dhdha varsham ta
14. tsutō Guṇagāṅkavijayāditya schatuschatvārimśata tadanujam yuvarā¹²

* From the original plates.

** Represented by a symbol.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Read Labdha. | 2. Read Rājyānām. | 3. Read tāmām. |
| 4. „ Pādānudyāṭānām | 5. „ Bhagavannārāyaṇa. | 6. „ Krutārāt i. |
| 7. „ Vardhaṇō. | 8. „ varshaṇi. | 9. „ Satam. |
| 10. „ Kokkilih. | 11. „ Schāshtacatvārim. | 12. „ Yuvarāja. |

15. Vikramādityatūpatēh¹³ sūnuschālukya bhīma bhūpāla strimśatam tatputrah Kō
 16. llabhiḡaṇḡa vijayādityah shaṇmāsēn tatsūnu rammarāja sapta-vashani¹⁴

Second plate, second side.

17. tatsutam Vijayāditya bālamuccātya Tālapō māsamēkam tam jivā Cālu
 18. kya bhīmatanayō Vikramāditya ēkādaśa māsēn tatastālapa rājasya su
 19. tō Yuddhamallah sapta varshāpi tam jivā Kollabhiḡaṇḡa vijayāditya sūtō bhī
 20. marājō dvādaśa varshāni tasya mahēsvara muttē¹⁵ rumāsamānākrtēh
 21. kumārābhah lōkamadēvyāh¹⁶ khalu yassamabhava dammarājākyah
 22. yō rūpēna manōja vibhavēna mahēndra mahimakara mahasā hara m aripurada
 23. hanēna nyakkurvan bhāti vidita digavalikittih¹⁷ sa¹⁸ samasta bhuvanāśraya srīvija
 24. yāditya mahārājā paramēsvarah paramabhaṭṭārakah parama-brahmanyah ela

Third plate, first side.

25. maṁchi kalimḡa bārupunāndu vishaya nivāsino rāshtrakūta pramukhān kuṭu
 26. binah savva nāhuyu¹⁹ ājnāpayati vidimastu²⁰ vah srimat cāmēnā khyāya tatputraya²¹
 27. betōnākyāya tadbhāyya ya²² Jarākavva majējanat tatputrō kuchē khyāya²³ pranāni ca²⁴
 28. tyābhāvēna tasmai Kucēnākyāya cavadvishayō Bārupunāndu recchādi vishayō
 29. dēva brāhmaṇavajjitaya²⁵ sāsani²⁶ krtyāya yasyavadhayah puvvatah²⁷

13. Read Bhūpatēh.

14. Read Varshāpi.

15. Read murtte.

16. „ Lōkamadēvyah Kumārābhah.

17. „ Kirttih.

18. „ Sah.

19. „ Sarvā Nāhūya.

20. „ vidita mastu.

21. „ tatputrāya.

22. „ tadbhāryāya.

23. „ Kuchinākyāya.

24. „ Prapānīca.

25. „ Varjitaya.

26. „ Sāsani.

27. „ Puvvatah.

TRANSLATION

Hail! Kubjavishnuvardhana, the (younger) brother of Satyāsraya Vallabhēndra, who adorned the family of the Chalukyas¹ who are glorious; who are of the lineage (gōtra) of Manavya, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are the sons of Hārīti²; who obtained the kingdom (sovereignty) by the excellent favour of Kausiki;³ who are protected by the troop of the Mothers⁴ (of man kind); who meditate on the feet of (God) Svāmi Mahāsena; who have had the provinces of their enemies subjected to them, on the instant, at the sight of the excellent crest of Boar⁵ which they acquired through the favour of the Holy Narayana; and whose bodies have been purified by the ablutions, performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices—ruled over the country of Vengi⁶ for eighteen years. His son, Jayasimha (I) ruled for 33 years; his younger brother, Indraraja's son, Vishnuvardhana (II) ruled for nine years; his son Mangiyuvaraja ruled for 25 years; his son, Jayasimha (II) for thirteen years; his younger brother, Kokkili for six months; his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana (III), having driven him out, ruled for thirty-seven years; his son, Vijayaditya Bhattāraka (I) for eighteen years; his son, Vishnuvardhana (IV) for thirty-six years; his son, Vijayāditya (II) Narendra Mrigaraja (Lion of kings) for forty-eight years; his son, Gunagāṅka (Mathematician) Vijayaditya (III) ruled for forty-four years; his younger brother, Yuvaraja Vikramaditya's son, Chalukya Bhima-bhūpala ruled for thirty years; his son, Kolabhiganda Vijayaditya (IV) for six months; his son, Ammaraja (I) for seven years; having driven out his son Vijayaditya (V) a mere boy, Talapa ruled for one month; then, the son of Chalukya-Bhima named Vikramaditya (II), having conquered him, ruled for eleven months; and then Talaparaja's son Yuddhamalla II ruled for seven years; then, the son of Kolabhiganda (IV) named Bhima (II), having conquered him, ruled for twelve years.

He was the very incarnation of Mahēsvara and his wife Lōkamadēvi resembled, in her form and beauty, Uma or Pārvati.

1. Calukki, caliki, calki, Chalukya, Chālukya, Chalukya, chalikyā, Salki, Saḷki, śaḷki are all found in the inscriptions. 2. Descendants of an original ancestress of the Harita Gotra. 3. Kausiki is the Goddess of Durga, the Goddess of war. 4. The mothers are the Seven mothers, (the Sapta mātṛukas) who are the female counterparts of Brahma, Siva, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Indra and Yama, who are created to drink the blood of the demon, Andhaka. Their Vāhanas (Bearers) are Hamsa (Swan), Vṛishabha (Bull), Mayūra (Peacock), Garuda (Kite), Varāha (Boar), Haṣṭi (Elephant), Mahisha (Buffalo) respectively. A stone sculpture containing the Sapta Matrugas with their vāhanas is found in the Madras Museum. 5. The Varāha Lanchhana or the crest of the Boar is found on the seals of the Eastern Chalukyan Inscriptions. Their coins called 'varāhas' bear the symbol. 6. It is represented by the modern villages of Peda-Vēgi and China-Vēgi, six miles off Ellore. (Vide for the history of Vēgi my note in the Journal Vol. I, Part 2, page 98.

The son born to them, Ammaraja (II), the very Kumārasvāmi himself, by surpassing Manmatha (the God of beauty) in form, Mahendra in glory, Surya (Sun god) in bright lustre and Hara in burning the towns of enemies, reduced them all to inferior position and shone brightly. His pure fame spread in all directions. He, the refuge of all the worlds, the glorious Vijayaditya Maharaja, the Paramesvara, the Paramabhattacharaka, and the Paramabrahmanya, having called together all the cultivators and the village heads (Rāshtra kūtāpramukhāḥ), living in Bārūpunāndu⁷ Vishaya in Elamanchi-Kalinga⁸ thus commands:—Be it known: to one, Kuchēna, grandson of the glorious Chamēna and the son of Betōna and his wife Jarākavva, in the Chāvadvisaya and Bārūpunāndu Recchādi visaya, with the exception of what was already granted to Gods and Brahmins, by making this grant of which the boundaries are: In the East. (Left incomplete)

7. There is a village called 'Barupulu' in Sarvasidhi Taluq of Vizag Dt.

8. It means Kalinga of which Elamanchi (Modern Yellamanchili) was the capital. It is mentioned in the inscriptions of Kokkili Vikramaditya (709 A. D.) his son Mangi Yuvaraja Kōkilavarma, and Bhima I, (818-918 A. D.)

THE GĀNGA VAMSAVALI OF PARLAKIMEDI *

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(i)

PREFATORY

It gives me great pleasure to present a paper on the *Gānga-Vamsāvali of Parlakimedi* at this annual meeting of our Andhra Historical Research Society, among others, for this reason, that during the year under review i.e., 1927-28, the present Raja Saheb of Parlakimedi has become one of the leading patrons of this society. Members that attended the Kalingôtsava of our society held during the last summer recess under the illustrious patronage of the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimedi at Mukhalingam remember how that celebration drew our marked attention to many problems of Kalinga History and how I then described in the barest outlines the salient points of the Sanskrit Kavya known as *Gangavamsanucharitam* composed by an Oriya poet *Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji* of the court of a ruler known as *Sree Purushothama Deo*. The *Gangavamsavali* of Parlakimedi that I would presently describe in this paper is different from the *Gangavamsanucharitam* that I then described, but the proper appreciation of the present chronicle requires some elucidation of the genealogy of the *Ganga-Vamsa* given in the Sanskrit Kāvya.

(ii)

GANGA-VAMSA OF THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA

In the *Saptama-parichêda* or seventh chapter of the *Gānga-Vamsānucharitam*, the author gives a full genealogical and chronological account of the Gangavamsi Rajas who ruled in succession from *Cuttack* in *Odlhra* desa as their capital; and he counts among them six *Dêvās*, six *Nrisimhas* and six *Bhānus* as follows:—

“ ఓర్ధ్వ దేశే కటకరాజధాన మధ్యాస్య |
గంగాస్యయే ప్రథమతోజని దేవషట్కం ||
సంజజ్ఞ రే తదనుషట్ బలినోన్యసింహః |
షడ్భానవోఽ పృథ్వీసమృదమాపురేవ |
మహాదళాజని య తిపాః క్రమేణ || ”

* Taken as read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting held on 7-4-28.

And the first among these *devās* was *Chudanga* or *Vudanga*, or *Gaudaganga* who expelled the Gajapaty dynasty ruling then at Cuttack and usurped its sovereignty. Thus:—

.. దేవేషు చావరభవత్ప్రథమం వుడంగో ।
యంగౌడగంగ ఇతికేచన నిర్దిశంతి ।
ధమానసౌ సహజబుద్ధి బలాదయేన ।
సింహాసనం గజపతేః స్వయమధ్యువాసమ్ ॥

.. తీలాంతీ చుడంగేచరితం చింతయంతీ విస్మయమానేన పునరపి
విచార్యమమద్దిశ్య-నాథ । చుడంగ దేవస్య సాహసిక్యమపిక్షీద్యశం ।
యేనపరాననపపేక్ష్య గజపతి ముత్సార్య తత్సింహాసనమధ్యాస్యవివృతమ్ ॥

The first of these *devas*, *Chudanga* or *Gaudagangadeva* is evidently a foreigner who usurped the throne and power of a Gajapati king of Orissa, then exercising sovereignty from Cuttack as his capital. Many identify him with Anantavarma Chōda Ganga of the Mukhalingam inscriptions and one point that lends colour to that suggestion is the fact recorded in *Jagannātham Kaiphiyat* (Madras Local Records No. 14-6-22) that the last king of the *Kesari dynasty* of Cuttack had quarrel with his *generalissimo Vasudēva Vāhinīpati* who proved false and brought Chudanga Deo from the Karnata country, an origin and habitat which agree well with the emigration of the ancestors of Anantavarma from the Karnata country described in that ruler's copperplate grants. Whether this view requires modification or amplification is however, too soon to say confidently. This idea of usurpation of a Gajapati-dominion by *Chudanga Deo*, the founder of the *Gangavamsa* of Cuttack is doubtless supported by various traditions of Kalinga and Orissa. After eighteen rulers of this *Gangavamsa* ruled from Cuttack, the wheel of fortune had turned as nemesis would have it and *Kajjal Bhanu* the last of them, while on a conquering expedition to the south, found his ministers at Cuttack had revolted and had installed *Kapilendra Deva* possibly of the old usurped Gajapathi line—on his ancestral throne. This fact and its curious consequences are thus described in *Vāsudeva Ratha's Kāvya*:—

శృత్యంతం కపిలేంద్ర మాత్త విషయే సింహాసనాధ్యాసినం ।
హాలానామపి మంత్రజాంతుచరితా న్యాలోక్యరోహకులః ।
తంధిక్కుత్ప్రచ దాక్షిణాత్యస్యపతీ సుత్సార్వభౌమ్యచ్చియాత్ ।
రాజ్యాధోస్రధమం గుఢారికటకే వాసాయచక్రేమనః ॥

కించ॥ తదవధి మృగనేత్రే గంగవంశావళిః॥
 స్వశుచివసతిదోషా దోష్ట దేశం త్యజంతః॥
 సకలస్వప కిరీటోద్భవృత్త పాదారవిందాః॥
 సుచిరపథికరీత్యా దాక్షిణాత్యాబధూవుః॥

Kajjala Bhanu in quest of a kingdom kept up the usurping tradition of his ancestor *Chulanga Deo*, extirpated a *Dakshinatya* ruler of *Gudarikataka* and established a ruling power there, but from long domicile, his descendants gradually became themselves *dakshinatyas*. Epigraphists would hold that the restoration of *Kapilendra* at Cuttack must have happened in the time of *Nissanka Bhanu* whose inscription of date A. D. 1414 is found at Simhachelam in the Vizagapatam District and who is there called *Gajapati*, so called from the Gajapati dynasty, whose throne and power his ancestors had acquired by right of conquest and usurpation. But the *Kāvya* makes *Nissanka* only the first of the *six Bhanu's* of Cuttack who are mentioned as follows:—

Nissanka Bhanu
 |
 Atula Bhanu
 |
 Vira Bhanu
 |
 Richika Bhanu
 |
 Madhupa Bhanu
 |
 Kajjala Bhanu

There seems to be great need then for the collation of Epigraphical and *Kāvya* materials even to settle this usurping Gangavamsa of Cuttack on sound chronological basis. However, the *Gangavamsānucharitham* gives Kajjala Bhanu unmistakably as the last of the Bhanus of Cuttack. When, with this knowledge, I attended the Kalingotsava and enquired locally how it was possible to connect Mukhalingam with the present ruling line of Gangavamsi princes of Parlakimedi, which somewhat vaguely was tacked on to the Anantavarma line of Gangas by the researchers assembled there, I found from the Inam registers of that village that the same was granted as an agraharam to the Maruvada family by a Parlakimedi ruler known as *Sivalinga Bhanu*; but neither in the Cuttack line of *Bhānus*, nor in the *Gudari-kataka* line of *Dakshinātya* Bhanus founded by Kajjala Bhanu, could I find the name *Sivalinga Bhānu*. The names of these two branches of *Bhanu* Gangas stand thus in the Sanskrit *Kāvya*:—

CUTTACK LINE

Nissankā Bhanu
 |
 Atula Bhanu
 |
 Vira Bhanu
 |
 Richika Bhanu
 |
 Madhupa Bhanu
 |
 Kajjala Bhanu

GUDARI-KATAKA LINE

Kajjala Bhanu
 (in his line)
 |
 Swarna Bhanu
 |
 Kāla Shanda
 |
 —————
 | | |
 Chudanga Bhanu Harimani Bhanu
 |
 Nrisimha Bhanu
 |
 Ananta
 |
 —————
 | |
 Pitambara Deo Vasudeva
 |
 Vira Sena
 Purushothama Deo
 (Patron of the author)

(iii)

PROBLEM

Who, then, is this Sivalinga Bhanu of the Parlakimedi ruling line? If he is not of the Gudari *cum* Cuttack line founded by *Chudanga Deo* whom Oriya and Andhra scholars seek to identify with *Ananta Varma Chotalaganga* of Mukhalingam, to what dynasty does he belong,—i. e., to what other Ganga dynasty, because the Parlakimedi rulers have all along been known as *Gangavamsîyās*. The Kalingotsava gave me the problem of Sivalinga Bhanu of Parlakimedi for further research and also demonstrated that the *Gangavamsânucharitam* is only one among the many yet untapped sources of Kalinga historical research awaiting to be collated with other materials as they come up and indicated how any conclusions that may be reached from published materials alone would be largely inconclusively tentative. Such a caution is all the more necessary because there are many influential and ruling dynasties in Kalinga to-day in regard to whom any conclusions we may draw from partial evidences will raise very vital and far-reaching issues.

(iv)

NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF SIVALINGA'BHANU

When in July following the *Kalingotsava*, our Maharajah's College reopened and attracted a good number of enthusiastic oriya young men from Ganjam for their B. A. degree studies, I sought to interest some of them in my Kalinga historical studies; one of them caught the idea of a search for records and placed in my hands in January last, an *Oriya Prose Chronicle* called *Gangavamsāvali* composed by one of his own ancestors and purporting to give a genealogical and chronological account of the *Gangavamsi* Rajas of Parlakimedi and their several contributions to culture. As he read it out to me, I jumped in my chair with joy as I heard the name of *Sivalinga Bhanu* who first made Parlakimedi the capital of his dominions. Evidently I caught a new trail here and my discovery is that this *Gangavamsā* of Parlakimedi is different from that described in Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji's Sanskrit kavya. How both these are related remains to be established by further materials and further research. I shall content myself in this paper with giving a mere outline sketch of this chronicle as I am awaiting confirmation of its account from other oriya sources with which I hope to be establishing contact in the ensuing summer recess.

Gangavamsāvali : Oriya Prose chronicle :

This chronicle is written up to the time of the Yuvarajaship of the revered father of the present Rajasaheb of Parlakimedi, Sree Raja Gourachandragajapati Narayana Deo Bahadur C. I. E. At the place where it stops, it records the latter's marriage at Nagarikatakam, a suburb of Mukhalingam, with the daughter of Sree Krishnachandra Deo, Yuvaraj of Jeypore, the revered father of Sree Vikramadeovarma garu of Vizagapatam, the chairman of Reception Committee of our Kalingotsavam. From these contemporary times, this *Oriya chronicle* works back into the dim past to a period described as the year 973 *Kaliyuga Expired* when it records a king called Pratapa Gajapati *Virosri Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva* as having been installed at *Puri* and not at *Cuttack*, and in his own right and not as a usurper as in the case of *Chulanga Deo*, the founder of the *Cuttack* line. This *Chulanga Vasudeva*, the founder of the Parlakimedi line, is said to have been born to a Brahman by the boon of Gangamāyī or the river Ganges. So far as I have been able to gather, there is only one record among the Oriental Mss. in the Madras Museum viz., "the History of Langulesvaraswami" (Local Records Vol. 37/p. 415) which mentions a Panda Brahman called Sāyantana, a devotee of Langulesvara, in the city of Kolāhala in Kalinga, as having a wife called *Gangāmba* who had, through the favour of Lāngulesvara, two sons called *Vasudeva*

and *Chodangadeva* of whom *Chodangadeva* reduced the Barabatti fort of Nrisimhadeva Kesari and married the daughters of Lakshminarayana Nrisimhadeva, his relation and was installed king of Odissa rajya and ruled from cuttack as his capital. It is very significant that the Pratapa Gajapati Vira Sree *Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva* is a *Gangâputra* and that the three elements of his name are identifiable in this tradition of a Kolahalapura Brahmin Family who became kshatrôpêta-dvijas or Brahma-Kshatris. It also connects him with the *Chudanga usurper* of Gangavamsânucharita kāvya of Vasudeva-Ratha. If this knot can be disentangled, as we may hope it can be, in the light of further confirmatory materials, we will have solved the relationship between the *Puri* and the *Cuttack* lines of Gangavamsis. But that is far ahead of our present chronicle, secured by my pupil Suryanarayanadas. That the present Parlakimedi line of Ganga Rajas originally hailed from *Puri* and not *Cuttack* is also attested to by the current oriya tradition that these Rajas do not generally visit Puri because if they do so, the Raja of Puri should resign his ruling power in their favour for three days perhaps in recognition of their having belonged to the major line of the *Puri Gangas*. There is also this parallelism between the *Gudari Gangas* (of Gangavamsânucharitam) and the *Parlakimedi Gangas* that the ancestors of both had to immigrate into the southern i.e., Andhra country on account of supercession at their original capitals. Our oriya chronicle narrates how one of the rulers of Puri known as *Pratapa Bhima Deo* had six sons by his caste wife and some more illegitimate sons of whom Purushottama was the eldest. Undecided about the succession, Bhima Deo prayed to the God Jagannadh for light. The God appeared in a dream and urged the king to install *Purushottama* on the throne. He did so with the result that his legitimate sons headed by the eldest *Kaliya Pratapa Rulra* immigrated into the southern country. This *Pratapa Bhima Deo's* father was *Atithi Siddhesvara Bhima Deo* who was preceded in regular genealogical order by six *Kesaris* who were in their turn preceded by six *Vāsudevas*, the first of whom was *Brahma Chudanga Vasu deva* noticed above. The genealogy and chronology of this Puri line up to their southern immigration is thus given in this oriya chronicle:—

(14 kings)

yrs. mths. dys.

ప్రతాపగజపతివీర బ్రహ్మ చుడంగవాసుదేవ	63—10—0	(Pratāpa Gajapathi Vira Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva)
గంగేశ్వరవాసుదేవ	28—7—0	(Gangēswara Vasudeva)
అనంగ పురుషోత్తమవాసుదేవ	39—11—0	(Ananga Puruṣhottama)
ప్రతాపరాజేశ్వరవాసుదేవ	27—9—0	(Pratāpa Rajeswara)
శ్రీమదనవాసుదేవ	24—5—0	(Sri Madana Vasudeva)
వీర శ్రీనృసింహవాసుదేవ	38—10—0	(Vira Sri Nrusimha)
	218—4—0	
సారంగధరకేశరిదేవ	24—0—0	(Sārangadhara Kesari Deva)
గంధర్వకుముదకేశరిదేవ	34—0—0	(Gamdharva Kumuda)
అనంగకేశరిదేవ	17—3—0	(Ananga Kesari Deva)
అనంగభీమకేశరిదేవ	43—5—0	(Ananga Bhima)
వీరమార్తాండకేశరిదేవ	28—10—0	(Vira Marthanda)
వీరపద్మాభకేశరిదేవ	33—0—0	(Vira Padmanabha)
	180—6—0	
సిద్ధేశ్వరభీమదేవ	34—2—0	(Siddhesvara Bhimadeva)
ప్రతాపభీమదేవ	40—0—0	(Pratāpa Bhima Deva)
	74—2—0	
	218—4—0	
	180—6—0	
మొత్తం.	74—2—0	Total.
	478—0—0	

From these calculations it would appear that the Southern immigration of the Puri line of Gangas seems to have taken place 473 years after its original foundation in that sacred city.

The genealogy and chronology of the immigrated line which, up to the time of *Sivalinga Bhanu* who established himself at Parlakimedi began to rule a dominion called *Panchakataka* on the banks of the *Indravati* (between Jeypore and Bastar) are stated further on as follows:—

VASAVANAGARAKATAKA LINE OF GANGAS

(13 kings)

	yrs. mths. dys.	
కాలీయ ప్రతాపరుద్ర దేవ	17—10— 0	(Kālīya Pratāpa Rudra Deva)
అనంగ మధురుద్ర దేవ	26— 9— 0	(Anamga Mādhu Rudra Deva)
కాలీయ హంపీర దేవ	40— 0— 0	(Kālīyahamvīra Deva)
మదనవాసు దేవ	35— 0— 0	(Madana Vāsu Deva)
నారాయణ దేవు	35— 0— 0	(Narayana Devu)
నృసింహ దేవు	30— 5—12	(Nrusimha Devu)
అజయరుద్ర నారాయణ దేవు	45— 3— 7	(Ajaya Rudra Nārāyana Devu)
నృసింహ దేవు	25— 1—16	(Nrusimha Devu)
మధుకర్ణ దేవు	31— 9—12	(Madhukarṇa Devu)
మృత్యుంజయ భాను దేవ	34— 0— 0	(Mrutyumjaya Bhanu Deva)
మాధవ సుందర దేవ	37— 0— 0	(Mādhava Sundara Deva)
చంద్ర మౌలి భాను దేవు	43— 6— 3	(Chandra Mauḷi Bhānu Devu)
స్వల్లింగ భాను	30— 0— 0	(Svallinga Bhānu)
	430 — 8 —20	
	473 — 0 — 0	
	430 — 8 —20	
మొత్తం.	903 — 8 —20	Total.

From this, it is clear that Sivalinga Narayana Bhanu Deva, the son of Swarlinga Bhanu established himself at Parlakimedi and became the immediate founder of the Parlakimedi Ganga line about 904 years after its original foundation at Puri.

The Genealogy and chronology of the Sivalinga Bhanu line of Parlakimedi, up to Jagannadha Narayanadeo, the contemporary of Zafar Ali Khan, the Fouzdar of Chicacole Circar in A.D. 1750, is given further on as follows:—

(10 kings)

	yrs. mths. dys.	
శివలింగ నారాయణ భాను దేవు	28— 0— 0	(Sivalinga Nārāyana Bānu)
సువర్ణ కేశరి దేవు	40— 0— 0	(Suvārṇa Kesari Devu)
ముకుందరుద్ర నారాయణ దేవు	26— 0— 0	(Mukunda Rudranarayana)

	yrs.	mths.	dys.	
ముకుందనారాయణదేవు	18—	2—	5	(Mukunda Narayāna Devu)
అనంతపద్మనాభనారాయణదేవు	12—	5—	12	(Anantha Padmanaba Narayana)
సర్వజ్ఞనారాయణదేవు	16—	9—	12	(Sarvajna Narayana Devu)
సరహరిదేవు (son of the second wife, daughter of Jemma Bisoyi)	27—	0—	0	(Narahari Devu)
వీరఅనంతపద్మనాభనారాయణదేవు	12—	10—	12	(Veera Anantha Padmanabha Narayana Devu)
వీరప్రతాపరుద్రనారాయణదేవు (brother of 8)	18—	3—	9	(Veera Prataparudra Narayana)
జగన్నాథనారాయణదేవు (contemporary of Zafar Ali Khan A. D. 1750.	40—	5—	0	(Jagannadha Narayana)
	23 ⁹ —	11—	23	i.e., about 240 years.

Thus, by the time of Zafar Ali Khan i. e., 1750 A.D., the Ganga line of Parlakimedi Rajas had been in existence, exercising sovereign rule in that part of the country, for about 240 years i. e., from about the year 1510 A.D., i. e., from the beginning of the sixteenth century; but it had been in existence, originally established at Puri from a family of Kolahalapura in Kalinga, for over 900 years before that date. This takes us back to A.D. 610; the immigrant family however dates back to 430 years i. e., to 1080 A.D. The Dirghasi Inscription of Raja Raja, the father of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated A. D. 1075—76 mentions the subjugation, among others, of a king of *Khimidi*. If the king of Kimedi referred to in this inscription is to be identified among this branch of the immigrant Gangas of Puri, then, they must have belonged to a line of Gangas *different* from the Mukhalingam Gangas. Could they have belonged to the Solar line of North Indian Immigrant Gangas of whom traces are found in the Karnata grants referring to the Jaina Ganga founders of the Ganga-vādi kingdom? This much can be suspected from the fact that this chronicle refers to the coronation of Vira Sri Brahma Chudanga Vasudeva at Puri according to the traditions of Rama's coronation. The Present Parlakimedi kings however have for long called themselves *ātrēyas* by gotra and *Chandravamsi* in clan. Here is another tangle of historical fact and tradition not unworthy of presentation to the scholars of our Historical Research Society on the occasion of the Annual Vardhanti gathering.

A NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM GANJ

By Prof. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

In Vol. I, Part IV, Page 228, (April-1927) of "The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society", an article of Mr. G. Ramadas is entitled as "Vyâghradêva" of the Vakâtaka inscription of Ganj. I myself have published in 'Indian Antiquary, (Vol. LV, Part DCXCIX-A, June 1926, Page 103.) an article on "Vyâghra" the Uchchakalpa. Yet, I ought to add some more words on the same subject.

The inscription from Ganj mentions a Vyâghradêva. The termination "dêva" indicates that this prince belonged to the Uchchakalpa family. Indeed, the founder of that family was called Oghadêva and his son was called Kumâradêva; Vyâghra was the grand-son of Kumâradêva.

Concerning the age of the Ganj inscription, the study of the alphabet i. e., the paleography, gives us a very clear indication between the inscription of Samudragupta (where a Vyâghra is mentioned) and the Ganj inscription. There is so vast a difference that more than a century separates the Vyâghra who was a contemporary of Samudragupta from the Vyâghra of Ganj. I pray the reader to refer to a note which had been published quite recently in *Epigraphia Indica* (Page 362, Vol. XVII.), where Mr. K. N. Dikshit wrote as follows:—"The characters used in the Ganj and Nâchnâ inscriptions are later in date than those of the Poona plates of Prabhâvatigupta. The present epigraph (inscription from Ganj) which is almost identical with the Nâchnâ inscription can therefore also be assigned to Prithivishêna II who must have died in or about the last quarter of the 5th or the opening years of the 6th century A. D."

So, there is no possible doubt: Vyâghradêva of Ganj was governing Bundelkand under the orders of Prithivishêna II and was an Uchchakalpa prince. The Vakâtakâ king Prithivishêna II was reigning towards 480 A. D. that is to say, more than a century after the expedition of Samudragupta. The Vyâghra of Ganj cannot be identified with the Vyâghra mentioned in the Allâhabâd inscription of Samudragupta.

BHASHYADIPA

(By Mimamsakacharya S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI &

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI M. A.)

Prabhākara, a great mimamsā writer, wrote a commentary called *Brhati* on Sabaraswamin's *Mimamsābhāṣya*. About eight chapters in it are now available. A commentary on *Brhati* by Sālikanātha called *Rjuvimalā* extends over 12 chapters, the whole of which can be had with the exception of chapters 7 and 8. Sālikanātha wrote four works. The first *Rjuvimalā*, the second *Prakaraṇapañchikā*, the third *Parīṣiṣṭa* and the last is *Dīpaśikhā*. It has been said that *Rjuvimalā* is a commentary on *Brhati*. The second is a treatise summarising the theories of Prabhākara on various items. The third elaborates such views of Prabhākara as are not clearly stated in either of their works otherwise. The fourth work, *Dīpaśikhā* is said to be a commentary on *Nibandha* of Prabhākara. Mādhava-sarasvatī in his *Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī* and an anonymous author of *Sarvadarśanasangraha* attest to these compositions of Prabhākara and Sālikanātha.

प्रभाकरप्रस्थानं तु - भाष्यस्य प्रभाकरकृतं व्याख्यानद्वयम्। एकं विवरणं षट्सहस्ररूपं; अपरो निबन्धनमंशोद्वादशसहस्रम्। विवरणस्य ऋजुविमला निबन्धनस्य दीपशिरसा टीकाद्वयं शालिकनाथकृतम्" *Sarvadarśana Kaumudī*.

In one of the colophons of *Brhati*, it is called *Bhāṣyavivarana* which, even as available upto eight chapters, consists of about 7000 *granthas* while Mādhavasarasvatī calls its extent as 6000 in all.

Sālikanātha begins his *Rjuvimalā* on *Brhati* thus:—

सृष्टाविद्यानिशाध्वंसिवन्धनिविडौजसम्।

उज्झासितजगज्जाड्यं नमस्यामः प्रभाकरम्॥

प्रभाकरमयीं दृष्टिं दाक्षिणां दधतं सदा।

वामदर्शनतापन्नचन्द्रं वन्देऽपराजितम्॥

प्रभाकरगुरोर्थावं मितगम्भीर भाषिणः।

अञ्जमाव्यञ्जयिष्यन्ती पञ्चिका क्रियते मया॥

The first verse seems to allude to one निबन्ध of Prabhākara and in the second, Chandra, is mentioned to have been an opponent of Prabhākara and as an author of *Vāmadarsana* or crooked philosophy.

Chandra's views are criticised at length by Murārimisra in his commentary on Tripādi of Prabhākara.

We have very recently obtained a fragment of a Mimamsa work on broken leaves whose colophon runs thus:—

इति भाष्यदीपे प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः

A cursory glance over the fragment will convince anybody that the work deals with the theories of the Prabhākara school. It begins with the second pāda of the first chapter and professes to explain the misunderstood terms of expression in the Bhāshya of Śābarasvāmin¹. Its author does not enter into extensive argumentation as in *Brhati* which, incorporating the lines of Śābarabhāshya, reads like a critical treatise and the same method is followed by Śālikanātha in his *Rjuvimalā* by simply augmenting the lines in *Brhati* by attributive phrases and clauses; but in *Bhāshyadīpa* as far as available, only notes are given on certain expressions. In *Nagavivēka* and in its commentary called *Dīpika*, frequent references to a work called *Laghvi* along with *Brhati* are found. Appayyadīkshita in his commentary on *Srikantha bhāshya* refers to Prabhākara Vivarana. It is a bold surmise that this *Bhāshyadīpa* must be a work of Prabhākara, referred to by various authors as *Nibandha* and it is on this work that Śālikanātha wrote his commentary called *Dīpasikhā*. The copy of the latter is said to be still available in Malabar. The whole work of *Bhāshyadīpa* is not available to us; and it begins from the second pāda of the first chapter. One of the quotations by Appayya Dhikshita appears to bear references to Tarkapāda not found in *Brhati*. If it refers to Vivaraṇa, it may go against the identity of *Bhāshyadīpa* with the *Nibandha* and only further investigation must settle it.

There is a work called *Bhāshyapratīpa* which also begins from the second pada of the first chapter. It is also a commentary on the *Bhāshya* of Śābarasvāmin. It was written by Saṅkarāchārya the pupil of Govindabhagavatpūjyapāda. It is quite a different work from *Bhāshyadīpa*, as it upholds the theories of Kumārila and condemns Prabhākara's interpretation of the Bhāshya.

Scholars would be eager to know whether the great Sankarācharya, who discarded 'karma' entirely, could ever choose to comment upon the karma-mimāmsa elaborated by Śābarasvāmin. It may be asserted that commentators as Upavarsha, Devasvāmin, and Bhāvasvāmin work their commentaries on all the twenty chapters of Mimamsa which include Karma kānda, Devata kānda and Sāriraka.

1. The first leaf broken in the beginning reads thus:—

वाक्यानि शाबरे । दर्शितार्थानि दृश्यन्ते तेषामर्थः ॥.....

A learned commentator on *Sambandhavārtika* of Sureswara while explaining the proposition of Śabarāsvāmin against Upavarsha quotes a line to the effect that he would speak of a certain argument in his commentary on Sāriraka i. e., Brahmasūtra. Similarly, it may be summarised that Śankarācharya, like great authors, might have written on Karma-Mimamsa also, selecting Śabara's work for his comments. But various circumstances stand in the way of attributing Pradīpa to that genius, the great Achārya. There was one Sankarabhadgavan, an ascetic and also pupil of one Govindabhadgavatpāla, in the family of Payyur in Malabar, who appears to have flourished about 1400 A.D. In all probability, he seems to have been the author of Pradīpa.

Bhāshyadīpa begins with the second pāda of the first chapter while *Bṛhātī* or *vivarāṇa* starts with the first pāda of the *Bhāshya*. From a close examination of *Slokavārtika* and *Tantravārtika* of Kumarila and *Bṛhātī* of Prabhākara, a bold conjecture may be advanced that Kumarila's arguments presuppose the existence of *Nibandha* of Prabhākara who, in turn, opposed Kumarila's position in his *Vivaraṇa* or *Bṛhātī* which was attacked again by Bhavabhūti in his commentary on *Slokavārtika*. Bhavabhūti says:—

अवगमैकनिबन्धनं च वस्तुत्वमित्यनुपामितगुरुं प्रबोधयितुमाह — एकाकारं भवेदेकमिति। (शून्यवादे) Again on the first sloka of *sphotavāda* (आधारात्मनि etc) अत्रानुपासिगुरुवशोदयन्ति। अथ गौरिति कस्यायं प्रजः न तावत्पूर्वपक्षवादिनः तस्यसंबन्धज्ञेयानन्तरं शब्दप्रश्नानुपपत्तेः। नापिभिद्धान्त वादिनः....। यदपि वार्तिककारेणोक्तं — आधारात्मनि....ब्रवीत् (स्फोटवादेप्रथमश्लोकः)

तदपि यदि पूर्वपक्षवादी ततोऽनुपपन्नं तेनाधारानिरूपणात्पूर्वमेवावयस्य निरूपितत्वात्....कः स्वयमुत्तरं तेभ्यो दद्यात्। इति पूर्वपक्षवादिप्रश्नोऽयमिति दर्शयिष्यति.... and closes it with the remark तस्मादालूनविशीर्णोऽयं सह विवरणेन भाष्यग्रन्थः”

In the above extracts, the expression अनुपामितगुरु appears to refer to प्रभाकर and though it means an author of imperfect study, it perhaps bears out the tradition that Prabhākara criticised the interpretations of Kumarila, his master, almost every day at the beginning of his tuition and consequently earned his nick-name गुरु.*

* A pun upon the word गुरु was made by मण्डनमिश्र in his विधिविवेक in his criticism on प्रभाकर theory closing it as “अलंगुरुमिविवादेन”

SAILODBHAVA DYNASTY OF KALINGA

By SRI L. N. DEB, M. R. A. S.

Raja of Tekkali.

Some years ago, an artizan while repairing the top of Someswara temple got three copper plates. Two of the plates he had spoiled and hearing that the remaining one was with him, I got it, in 1917, from him. From it I could understand that the first and the last plates have been spoiled. I gave that plate to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Edward Albert Gait, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. to examine. He got it examined by Mahamahopadyaya Pandit Haraprasada Sastri, M. A., C. I. E. and published it in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. IV, part II, as "Tekkali Inscription of Madhavarajah, the son of Pattavyalopa Rajah". In the above examination of the plate, some mistakes having been found out, in order to correct it, its history is given in the following lines. After the end of the chaitra dynasty in the fifth century, there was a place named Kongada between Kalinga and Utkala, where a renowned Rajah named Pulindasena was ruling. On account of some strong reasons, failing to bear the burden of ruling the land, he was in search of a man who should rule in his place. At that time some Rajputs being desirous of conquering some lands took shelter in the mountains of Utkala. Pulindasena requested one fit person from among them to reign in his place to which the Rajput consented. On account of the Rajput's coming from the mountain, his dynasty was known as Sailodbhava dynasty. The heirs of this founder ruled for some years; and the names of the rulers of the time when the copper plates were deposited on the temples are given below. Madhyama Rajah first began his rule in the early part of the seventh century. He had been entitled as Abhita. His son Dharmaraja was known as Ranabhita and Yasobhita. Dharmarajah's son, Madhyamaraj II was known by the names of Sainyabhita, Sreenivasa and Madhavavarma. Madhyamarajah II's son, Ranakshobha was also called Ranabhita. In the year 620, Madhavavarma was a powerful ruler. From the history of Utkalla it is known that this King had performed the Asvamedhayāga in 620. From the four sets of copper plates of this dynasty found so far, the plate of Madhavavarma's time was found at Bugada, that of Madhyamaraja's time at Parikudu and Khoroda, and that of Madhyamarajah III's time was found in the temple of Siva at Tekkali. From this, it could be understood that they had extended Kongoda up to Southern Ganjam.

In Kalinga or Utkala, the kings of the Kesari dynasty were ruling as independent kings from 520-1042 A.D. It is possible that the above mentioned Kings of the Sailodbhava dynasty were under the Kings of Kesari dynasty. Some say that at the beginning of the seventh century, Sasankaraj Narendra Gupta, the ruler of Western Vanga had attacked Utkala, but at that time Lalitendra Kesari, the strongest king of the Kesari dynasty in Utkala was ruling as an independent king. Therefore it is not right to say that Utkala was under any other rule at that time. In the tenth century, in the Southern part of Ganjam (present Tekkali) Padmachandra, a strong king was reigning. Rajah Ranakshobha of the above mentioned Sailodbhava dynasty drove away his brother Pattavyalopa who coming to the mountains which are at the Southern side of Kongada lived in the Malikeswara temple constructed by Bhima, and prayed for the self restoration to his land. According to his brother's order, he collected an army and defeating the Tekkali king Padmachandra, lived at Bhendi constructing a fort there. There is a temple of Siva which appears to be the Siva temple constructed by Madhyamarajah III and which is an old one. Therefore it is certain that this temple was built by one of the kings of the Sailodbhava dynasty.

The place where this Rajah lived and prayed to Malikeswara and began fighting for his land was called as 'Rabasha'. Now it is called Rayabalsha. There is a cave known as Pandava cave and at the top of that hill there are the broken remains of that 'Basha'. Pattavyalopa Rajah collecting some mountainous soldiers from the Nasunda mountain defeated his elder brother Ranakshobha and occupied Kongada. After him, his son Madyamaraja III became the ruler of Kongada and conquered land to the south. As the inscription of the present copper plate which was found at the temple of Siva, and that of the Salki plate of the eleventh century appeared to be of the same time, it was settled that Madhyamaraja III was the ruler in the eleventh century. In the eleventh century, the King of the Sailodbhava dynasty gave his daughter Kasturikamodini in marriage to the Kalinga king, Anantavarmachodaganga of the Ganga dynasty. He had given the southern conquered Kingdom of Tekkali as the marriage dowry. From that day, the name of this kingdom became 'Tekkali.' With the help of that king of the Sailodbhava dynasty, Anantavarmachodaganga defeated the king of the Kesari dynasty and occupied Utkala.

We get the following Genealogy of the Sailodbhava dynasty:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Madhyamaraja I | (4) Ranakshobha |
| | |
| (2) Dharmaraja (Ranabhita) | (5) Pattavyalopa |
| | |
| (3) Madhyamaraja II | (6) Madhyamaraja III |

STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGANNATHA TEMPLE OF ATHAGADA

(Inscribed on the dais of the Idols)

By Sri L. N. DEB M. R. A. S.

Raja of Tekkali

It is understood from the history of the Royal family of Athagada Estate, Ganjam District that the Athagada Raj family claims its descent from Baghale Dynasty which came from Rewa. Ramachandra Harichandan Jaga Dev reigned over Athagada Estate during Saka 1609–1628. By his first wife, he had three sons, viz. Giridhar alias Gopinath, Raghunath alias Anantho, Divyasimha alias Padmanabha and by his second wife, he had two sons, viz. Vasudev and Srichandan Giridhar alias Gopinath Harichandan Jaga Dev. Giridhar reigned during S. 1628–1634. As he had no sons, his brother Raghunath alias Anantha Harichandan Jaga Dev succeeded him in Saka 1634–1635. He had got the present Jagannath temple of Athagada, which is one of the biggest temples of Ganjam that is found to the present day, built up and the Lord Jagannath installed in it. To verify the above facts, the reading of the inscription is given below. This stone inscription is written in Oriya Language of old type oriya characters. Jagabandhu alias Jagannath Harichandan Jagadev, son of Raghunath succeeded to the throne and reigned over the estate during Saka 1654–1670. He helped the then Maharajah of Orissa by offering him shelter at the time of his distress. At that time, Athagada estate was in a flourishing state. We can very well have an idea of the same by going through a portion of Ganga Vamsānu Charitram—a sanskrit book compiled in his time—in which, the then Athagada estate is described and from which quotation is given below.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGANNATH TEMPLE OF ATHAGADA

Ye Athagadarajyadhipathi Anantho Harichandan jaga debonko sanoponora a prasado Kirti Kori Sri Sri Mohaprabhunku Singhosona bijakorayi Sri chorono tola onukshana ochonthi—ye Ramachandro Harichandonko puo, yahanko ma chandrama debi, yahanko bhayi bhromoroboro Padmanabho Santho.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Anantha Harichandan Jagadev, the then King of Athagada got this temple built up in his young age and having installed the

idols on the dais, he resides always at the feet. He is the son of Ramachandra Harichandan; his mother is Chandramadevi; he has a brother named Bhramaravara Padmanabha Santho.

गङ्गवन्शानुचरितम्

(सप्तमपरिच्छेदः)

विद्याशीर्ष—भवतु यथा, लीलावती मन्यते इति व्यापि सपरिकरौ लङ्गलवेणि नाम
जगद्धन्धु नरनायकस्य राजधानी मुपेयतुः.

तत्तापगोषु परितो विततीकृतानि

रत्नान्ययत्ननिहितानि वशिम्बजानाम्

आलोक्ययानि पथिका हृदयान्तराले

सम्भावयन्ति भुवनानि तदुज्जितानि

॥17॥

विद्या-----प्रिये ! एषा अष्टदुर्गनृपते राजधानी निरीक्ष्यताम्

लीलावती—किंचिद्भूत्वा, निरिवलधरणिपरिगतबहुविधचमत्कारकारिसमस्तवस्तुवास्तुनो
नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यपथिकजनमनोरथानल्पकल्पपादपस्यलवङ्गवेणिनामकस्यनग -
रस्य मध्येकृष्णकानननामनि चृतारामे प्रविश्य, प्रतिपर्वप्रचुरतरतरुण
दलकुलकवलितदिनकरकरनिकरसञ्चारे, मन्दमन्दप्रसरमधुमधुरकेतकसौर-
भभररभसचञ्चलचञ्चरीकचयानु गायमानमलयमारुतसस्वन्धिगन्धवन्धुरे,
अनवरतनिरन्तरायनिपातित चूतमुकुलकुल कल्पिततल्पतलजनित शिशयिषा-
लोत्तवेदाकुलपथिककु लसंकुलमूलसोमनि.

* * * * *

इत्युत्वा तत्त्वसतिं निवध्य रघुनाथसागरं नाम कासारमुपेयतुः.

* * * * *

लीलावती—चक्रं नकादभीताप्यनुसरतिरसाच्चक्रवाकीवराकी पुल्लत्कहावारपुञ्जे मिलति
सहचरं वीक्ष्य हंसी रिरंसुः गुल्मान्तः कैरविगयाः प्रसरति निनदः कोजपि
कारणडवीयः कङ्कः पङ्के सशङ्कं शपरकचलने केवलन्ते वलन्ते ॥20॥

विद्या-----नगरोनिरीक्षणाय वद्धश्रद्धौ बभूवतुः तदनु

वीधीं वीधीमयमुपगतोद्रष्टुमिच्छुः पुरीं ताम्.

भ्रान्त्या भ्रान्त्या तदनुपरितोवीक्ष्यमाणोद्भुतानि

स्मायं स्मायं निजदयितयासङ्गतोहन्तरिङ्गन्

हृद्वेधद्वेदयिनिजघटे मामधो मन्दं मन्दम् .

॥21॥

* * * * *

विद्या-----नहि नहि सरिव सत्यं ब्रवीमि.

काञ्चीकाञ्चनशालिनी परिचिता काशी विकाशीकृत
प्रासादापरिशीलिताप्यधिगता सद्धस्तिनी हस्तिना
क्षोणी मण्डनमेवकुण्डनपुरीद्रष्टाऽपि दृष्टप्रजा
काचिल्लज्जलवेणिवन्नमनसो हर्ष प्रकर्ष दधे

॥22॥

लीलावती—कुलेदृशी पटिपाटी पण्णाजिरेषु. तथाहि. निरीक्ष्यताम्. इतोहोरकादिमुख्यप्रस्तावः
इती हिरण्यपरोक्षा इतः कुप्यादिप्रणयनम्, इतश्चित्तकम्बलसंचयः, इतो भोजन
भाजनानि, इतः करकानिकरः, इतो विविधवस्तापणः, इतो गोधनपरि-
वृत्तिः, इति नानाविधवस्तुविस्तारमवेक्षतत इतो भ्रमन्तो लीलावती दूरादुच्चैः
प्रासादमालीक्य सविस्मयं, नाथ! कस्यायंप्रासादः किंकर्त्तकः, कियत्कालीनः,
किमर्थं कृतइति पृच्छामि

विद्या-----प्रिये ! नजानासि, अर्थिजनहरिचन्दनं रघुनाथहरिचन्दनम्; यः खलु जगत्पू-
ज्यत्वेन विविच्य गनपतिना जगद्देवपदवीमासादितः,

लीलावती—ततः किम्,

विद्या-----तेन यदा यन्निमित्तं मयः प्रासादः कृतस्तत्सान्वयं निशम्यताम् सरिव

पूर्वाद्विरंरामचन्दनपतेर्लब्धोदयं चन्द्रमा

देवीयं सुषुवेसुधाकरमिवप्राचीकला कोमलम्

यस्याद्वावनुजौ महार्गलभुजौ धूतारी भूमिभुजौ

तलैको भुवि विश्रुतो गिरिधरः श्रीदिव्यसिंहोऽपरः

॥23॥

किञ्च . यस्य प्राणसमा समा गुणगणैः श्रीप्राणदोवीप्रिया

जातो यज्जठरेसुतः किल जगद्वन्धुर्यथार्थाभिधः

तामाद्यन्महसो यदीययशसो यस्यातपत्तान्तरे

सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ निलीयवसतस्तद्वर्णने के वयम्

॥24॥

स्त्रीणां मोहनमञ्जरीविषलताप्रत्यर्थिनामर्थिनाम्

कल्पद्रुः सुधियां सुधाकरकला भूमण्डलीमण्डनम्

सोऽयं श्रीरघुनाथनामनृपतिर्लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतये

शाकेऽद्वेयशरत्तु शीतगुमिते प्रासादमासादयत्.

॥25॥

कालवशद्वैवदोषेण तस्मिन् स्वर्गाधिरुटेऽधुना ततः शत गुणेन गुणाधिको
जगद्वन्धुना मातत्तनयो नरपतिः प्रजापालनपरः पृथिवीधर्मेण प्रशस्ति

विद्या ————प्रिये ! शौर्यगाम्भीर्यचातुर्यमर्यादानिधेस्तस्य गुणेषु यदि श्रोतुं श्रद्धानिवन्धास्ति,
तर्हि श्रैयताम् सखि !

* * * * *

सखि ! किमिह वर्णयामि सच,

दण्डे दण्डधरो वलेवलिरिपु र्योभूत्तमायां क्षमा

शक्तौशक्तिधरो धनेषु धनदो गङ्गासुतः सङ्ग्रे

सौजन्ये जनकोदमेऽपि सनकोऽनङ्गोनिजाङ्गुतौ.

धर्मे धर्मसुतो गुणेषुगुणिनां सर्वेषु सर्वोपमः

॥32॥

* * * * *

BRIEF TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE QUOTATION FROM GANGAVAMSA NUCHARITAM

At that time, Jagabandhu was ruling the estate at Langelu-
veni Fort. (There were eight forts viz. Kholadi, Matigodo, Marda-
mekho, Ramagodo, Paptogodo, Mondarogodo, Kudolagodo and
Longolobenigodo. Therefore the estate was called Athogodo, which
consists of eight forts). In this fort, there was a big mango tope called
Krishna Kanano. Adjacent to it there was a big Sāgaram excavated
by Raghunath Harichandan and also called after his name. There were
big gardens of Kētaki flowers (The flowers of sweet fragrance are
abundantly available even now). At Athagada, the metropolis, Langelu-
veni fort was in a prosperous state, and it was a trading centre for
precious stones and gold ornaments. It was also a centre of various
industries such as weaving woollen cloths, carpets, cotton textures and
making brass utensils. The estate was full of healthy and good cow
herds. Raghunath, Giridharo and Divyasimha were the sons of
Ramachandro by his wife, Chandrama. Raghunath Harichandan, the
heir-apparent of the family ascended the throne after the death of his
father. Raghunath Harichandan built the temple of Lakshmi pati
(Lord of Lakshmi goddess) i. e., Lord Jagannath in Saka 1650 at
Athagada. He was succeeded by his son Jagabandhu, born to Rani
Pranadevi Priya. He was very brave and his fame spread far and wide.

This book might have been compiled at the early time of
Jagathbandhu's reign. Many of the good deeds of his reign are
not to be found in it. Some of the historical incidents which are
found elsewhere are given below:—

1. He has given shelter to the then Ramachandra Dev, Maha-
rajah of Orissa, along with the three idols of the celebrated temple of
Jagannath of Puri, when he was driven by Mohamad Takikhan, the
Mussalman invader and the Deputy Governor of Orissa from the

north, at the time of Mussalman invasion. The idols of Lord Jagannath were given shelter in the middle of Saka 1654-1655 at Merada⁽¹⁾ which was surrounded by dense forest. The Maharajah Ramachandra Dev was given shelter in Ramna Fort.

2. He was given the title of Rajah Bahadur by the Mohamadan governor, the head of the circle who was ruling at Chicacole under the Mogals, and also he was recognised as Nawab over Khallikota, Seeragada, Bodogada, Suradagada, Mohuri, Biruli, Palur, Humma, Ghumusur Zamindaries, Aska paraganas and Purvakhandia (Eastern paraganas). The Mohamadan governor's army was at his disposal. Mustafa Khulikhān was the first governor of Chicacole and the last was Anveralikhan. They ruled from 1640-1757 A. D.

(1) Vide Vol. V part 26 of the Asha weekly paper, for "Maradu" article by Mr. Tarini Charan Rath B. A., Dt Munsiff (Note:- In the above article the name Govindo Chandro was given by mistake instead of Jagabandhu, Harichandu, Jagadeb, the three rulers of Ancient Athagada.)

Mr. Sewell in his list of antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras (Vol. I page 3) makes mention of 'Merada' with a brief incorrect note thereon.

KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI

By BHAVARAJU V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the article on the Kōṭa chiefs, I discovered that I have omitted to mention two or three important facts about them by mistake. The Pedamakkena pillar inscription of Bhūtamahādēvi gives the family name of the Kōṭās as *Pōlēvāru*. I quote here the verse from the inscription which mentions the surname, the caste and the name of the founder of the dynasty as Prince Dhanañjaya.

చ. అమలవయోధిఁ జంద్రుఁ డుదయంబగునట్ల నె పోలెవారి జా

తమున విరించిపుట్టిన విధంబున గాంచనభార్యుడీధరేం

ద్రమున సురావరిజముదితంబయి యొప్పుగతిం జతుర్థవం

వంశమున జనించె సుగ్రురిపు నైశ్యజయుండు ధనంజయుం డిలన్.

I suggested that the Kōṭās might be of Canarese origin on account of the existence of certain canarese words in the *birudugadya*, but on careful examination of the earlier inscriptions of the family I find the family to be purely of Telugu or Andhra origin. The original home of the *Pōlēvāru* or the Kōṭā chiefs might, in all probability, be the central part of the present Guntur District or the northern portion of the Cuddapah District. As has been pointed out already, the Kōṭās or the *Pōlē* family first came into prominence in the seventh century A. D. during the reign of the Pallava King Mahēndravarmān I Pōtarāja, who is, as my esteemed friend and great scholar, Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao Pantulu points out, no other than *Trinayana Pallava*. This Mahēndravarmān I is also referred to as "*Mukkanṭi*" and '*Mukkanti*' '*Kaḍuveṭṭi*', which are merely vernacular renderings of the sanskrit word '*Trinayana*.'

I feel I was not correct when I stated that Bayyāmbikā was the queen of Kētarāja II; she appears to be, on closer study of the inscriptions, the queen of Kētarāja III or Manma-Ketā, and mother of *Jagamechuganda* Kōṭā Ganapatideva Mahārāja. My original identification of this last named prince as the son of Kētarāja II and therefore a paternal uncle of Ketaraja III, falls to the ground. Queen Bayyambika and Queen Gaṇapamadēvi were related to each other as first cousins, being the daughters of Melambika of Nathavādi and her brother Kākatiya Gaṇapatideva Mahārāja respectively. Further, they married brothers, Kētarāja III and Bētarāja, sons of brothers and grand-sons of Kētarāja II. This fact alone is sufficient to enable us to identify, with an amount of certainty, that Bayyambika was the queen of Kētarāja III, and Gaṇapatideva Mahārāja was their son. I think Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, is therefore, right in supposing that Gaṇapatideva was a son of Kētarāja III, and that he was the crown prince of his father in S. 1156 (A. D. 1234).

THE DHARMALINGESWARA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF ANANTAVARMA & DEVENDRAVARMA

(*Gāṅgāya Era 204 and 184 respectively*)

By P. SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Nearly 10 years back, a pūjāri of Dharmalingēsvara temple, near Gurandi, a village about 11 miles from Parlakimedi, Ganjam District, discovered, on digging up the ground near the said temple, a pot containing two sets of copper-plates. I got information about the discovery, and went there to examine them. At first, the pūjāri did not agree to hand over the plates, for, he thought that they were too sacred to be removed from the place, where they were preserved. But, however, when he was persuaded by the villagers of Gurandi, he consented to let me take the rubbings of them, on condition that I should read some lines of the plates before him. I did so and got them from the Pūjāri.

The two sets contain grants made by the Maharajas, Ananta Varmma and Devendra Varmma of the early Ganga line; and both are in Sanskrit. The grants were made in the 'Ganga Vamsa Pravarddhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsaras 204 and 184 respectively.'

Both the sets contain 3 copper-plates each. Each plate of the first set measures about 6" × 3½". The ring holding the plates is about 2 ems. thick and about 4½" in diameter. Each plate of the second set measures about 7½" × 3½". The ring holding the plates is about 1½ ems. thick and about 5½" in diameter. In both the sets, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only; and in each of them, the ring is soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of bull, 'Nandi' couchant. Round the Nandi, there are, in the surface of the disc, the figures of conch-shell, chowrie etc, generally seen on the seals of other plates belonging to the E. Ganga kings. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing. The inscriptions are in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet employed belongs to the old 'Kutila' type and the characters are exactly like those used in Graham's plates (discovered at Chicacole, Ganjam Dt.) of Indra Varmman, Devendra Varmman and Satya Varmman.² Another copper-plate grant of the same king, Devendra Varmma, son of Gunarnava, which was made in

1. Though these grants were already published in Ind. Ant., the article is published because the writer has given some new points. (Ed.)

2. See Ind. Ant. Vol. X, pp. 243., Nos. 3, 5 and 6.

Gangeya-era 183, was discovered at Chicacole and published in Ep. Ind. Vol. iii, pp., 130-134.

I arranged a genealogical table of the early Gāṅga kings of Kalinga and published it in the article on "The Santa Bomvali copper-plate grant of Nanda Varmma". Hence, there is no need of mentioning the same in this article.

The first inscription records a grant of a village known as 'Talatthēra', made by the Maharaja Ananta Varmma, son of Devendra Varmma, in the district of Krōshtuka varttini, in the 13th Tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīrsha, on a marriage occasion [Kanyādāna mudakapūrvvam kṛtvā] to a donee, named Vishṇu Śōmāchārya, who belonged to Pārāsarasa Gōtra, and who came from the village of Sṛṅgāṭikāgrahāra, in the Kāmarūpa district (Burmā?). That same village was granted to some Brahmanās by the king's brother, Jaya Varmma.

The second inscription records a grant of a village known as 'Haduvaka'. The present name of the village is 'Aḍava,' which is situated one mile from the place where these inscriptions are discovered. The grant was made by Devendra Varmma, son of Gunarnava, in the time of his 'Mantra Dīkshā'. The Village was granted to the well-learned Guru, Patanga Sivācharya, and to his students.

From the first set (of Anantavarmma), we get the following names of villages and mountains:—

THE NAMES OF VILLAGES:—

- (1) Talatthēra.
- (2) Hēma Śṛṅga.
- (3) Tātapura.
- (4) Vasantapura.
- (5) Phumpalli.
- (6) Sōma Bātaka.
- (7) Dhāra Bātaka.
- (8) Sumangura.
- (9) Supuchēru.
- (10) Saptaparnna.

THE NAMES OF MOUNTAINS:—

- (1) Dēvaparvvata.
- (2) Kōṅga parvvata.
- (3) Pīṭṭa parvvati.
- (4) Kōrkṇṭa sikhara.

The place is very important and interesting for the following reasons:—

(1) The natural scenery of the place is very nice; and it is a very attractive place for the situation of a city; for, it is a fort-like place on account of the surrounding high mountains.

(2) Before the temple of Dharmalingesvara, there is a small hillock, known as 'Sunabali' (Golden-dust), which is nothing but a mere dilapidation of some ancient buildings.

(3) From the field, which surrounds the said temple, we get a lot of old bricks and well polished stones etc.

(4) Near the place, there is a rock known as 'Sītāpathara' which resembles a big hill (circumference is about one mile and the height about three hundred feet), in which there are two old jain caves. The ancient name of this huge rock was 'Siddha-pathara', where the 'Siddha-purushas' (Jains?) inhabited.

(5) Near the place, there are two villages 'Kathuru' by name. I think this 'Kathuru' is the same as the 'Kothura' mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the 4th century A. D.

(6) To the back side of the temple, there is a range of mountains, which is connected to the Mahendra mountain of Ganjam District.

(7) There is an ancient ruined road (Rājapatha) which runs between the two parallel rows of mountains.

(8) The place is very near to the Mahendra mountain, which was sacred to the early Ganga kings of Kalinga.

For the above reasons, I think, this is a place, which holds the interesting ruins of a great city of ancient Kalinga country. In conclusion, I am merely drawing the attention of the historians of Madras and Orissa, for the detailed examination of the place. I hope, this will be the place for the future historians, to identify as the capital of ancient Kalinga.

TEXT¹

(1) The Dharmalingeswara C. P. Grant of Anantavarma.

First plate, Second side.

1. Om svasti vijaya vatah, kalim̃ga nagarā-nmahēndāchalā śikhara
pratishthitasya—
2. bhagavatō gōkarṇa svāminah prap̃amā-dvigalita kalikalamkah
śrīmadga—
3. ngā kulatilakō nija nistrimsō-parjjita kalim̃gādhirājya pra-
vitatacha—
4. turudadhī taram̃gamālā mēkhalā-vanttalāmala yasās (a) nēka—
5. havā samkshōbha janita jaya sabda pratāpāvanata samasta
sāmanta cha—
6. kra chūdāmani prabhā manjari ramjita charanō mātā pitṛ
pādānudhyātah para—

1. From the original plates.

7. ma mähësvara śrī mahārāja dēvendravārmma sūnu = rmmahārāja śrīmā—
8. nanantavarmma kōshtīka varttanyam tālatthēre sarvva samavēta m̐kutumvīna sa—

Second plate, First side.

9. māññāpayati viditamastu bhavatā yathāyam grāmōsmad-bhrātrā śrī Jayavarmma—
10. na mātāpitro = rātmanascha punyābhi vridhdhaye bhyatthitēna yaya vēda vēdāṅga pārage—
11. bhya kāmārūpa vishaye sṛṅgaṭikāgrahāra vāstavēbhya pārāsarasa gōttrēbhō—
12. vishnu sōma chaya padēbhya vivāha samayē kanyādāna mudaka pū
13. rrvam kṛtyā chandrārka pratishṭitham sarvva karabhar ān = muktva datta = stadēvam budhvā—
14. yathōchita bhāga bhōgamupanayantah sukham vasatōti...sudhu śmālinga—
15. ni kramēṇa sthitāni isānyām dēvaparvatah sikharah tatpūrvēṇa giri vātava—
16. narāji pparusha () yaya ppachēru madhyēna talatthēra hēmasṛṅga tātapura

Second plate, Second side.

17. tṛkūtē suruli vālmika parvvatyām giriv-aṭavah dhātu karanja vasanta pura tṛ—
18. kūtē chinchā vanarāji panchāṅgula vibhita kōṅga parvatē pūrvvāvata rē giri—
19. vāṭah salla patthari kōsāmvrah chinchāvatē pūrvvālih parvata sikharē phumpuli
20. tṛkūtē-purvādika dakshinēna = chinchā paṁkti sōma vātaka tṛ—(ku)
21. tē rāgrāṇah chinchā paṁkti dhārā vātaka tṛkūtē chinchā vanarāji rāja—
22. mārgga chinchā vālmikah kavāta sandhi vālmikah punah kavāta-sandhi tōravālmī—
23. kah nikhātōpalah nimva vālmikah dakshinādika, paschimēna: kapāṭasandhih ku—
24. tūnga paṁkti vakira vanarāji tatākliḥ sōma bibhita sōmakapittha gartā chimchā—

Third plate, First side.

25. sumangura tṛkūta chinchā vanarāji salmali pipta parvati sikharah su—
26. puchēruh saptaparna tṛkūtē chinchā dakshinā dika, paschimēna kavāta sandhih

27. puchêrusaptaparna trkûtê chinchâ pâschimâdika, uttarêna: venu banarâ—
28. ji môdaki râdhanah kôrkkanâ sikhare tâta pura trkûtah sôma dymah—
29. tatah parvata sikharena saiva dēva parvvat a sikh-r-a-iti sū—
30. ttra cha vyâsa gītâh: svadattâmparadattâmvâ . yatnâdraksha yudhishtthi—
31. ram (râ) mahimahimatâm, srêshtha dânaçchhrēyonupâlanam, mityēva mâdi, prava
32. rddha mâna vijaya rājya samvatsara śatadvayē chaturutta rē 204 mârgasirsha su—
33. kla paksha trayôdasyâm datta midam śâsana, mutkirnam naṭimachisûnukshasali likhina

TEXT 1

(2) The Dharmalingeswara C. P. Grant of Devendravarma.

First plate, Second side.

1. Om svasti sakala vasumati tala tilakâyamâna = ssarvvarttu sukharama niyâ = dvijayavatah kalinganagara—
2. vâsakâ = nmahêndrâ-chalâmala sikhapratishtitasya sacharâ-chara gurô = ssakala bhuvana nirmmânaika sûtradhârasya—
3. bhagavatô gôkarna svâmina = ścharana kamala yugala pranâmâd = vigali takalikâla kalamkô Gangamala ku—
4. la tilakônija nistrimśa dhârô pārjita = ssakala kalingâdhirājya pravitata chatu-rudadhi taranga mē—
5. khâlâ-vanitalâmala yasâh anêkâhava samkshôbha janita jaya-sabda (h) pratâpâ-vanata samasta sâmantha chakra chû—
6. dâmani prabhâ manjari punja ranjita charanah parama mâhêsvarô mâta pitr pādânudhyâtô nayavinaya sauryô—

Second plate, First side.

7. dârya satya tyâgâ = sampadâmâdhârabhûtah śrî Guṇârṇava-sūnu = rmmahârājah śrî Devêndravarmmâ Pushya giri—
8. pamkhâli vishayê Haḍûvakagrâmê sarvva samavêtân kuṭumvinah samâ jnâpayati [:] viditamastu bhavatâm yatha = smâ—
9. bhi = rayam grâma = ssarvva karaih parihttyâ-chandârka pratishtam mâtâpitro = ratmânschâ punyâbhi vṛddhayê vêda—

10. vedângētihāsa purāṇa nyāya vidyā svasiddhāntādhigatāya bhagavat-Patanga Sivāchāryāya guravē di—
11. kshōttara kālē gurupūjāyai datta = stēnāpi pratigrahyā yōgēsvara-bhāttarakāyārddham sva sishya pra-si—
12. shyaibhyō = pyarddham = mityēva-mbiditva yathōchita bhāga-bhōga mupanayanta sukhām prativasat-ēti, grāmasya simālī—

• Second plate, Second side.

13. ngāni bhavanti [:] pūrvasyāndisi gunahāri gartā (garta), dakshinasyam diśi: simāntē saiva gartā, paśchimēna: kadaṁva—
14. vṛkshah tata śchinchā vṛkshan nimva tata sarjja vṛkshah tatākālyām timira vṛkshah trte-spiśāchāli kāraka vṛkshah
15. tatākālīh paschima simāntē tatākāl-yuttarē bhalāṭaka vṛkshah tatah jambū vṛkshah chullavēṇā—
16. uttara simāntē: chullavēṇā, pūrvāt sālmalī vṛkshah tatō dvitīyāpi sālmalī vṛkshah kōśā—
17. mbrah saptaparna brhatchhīlā tatōvālmīka sahita jambū bitavah chinchā jambū tata tatākālyā madhuka—
18. vṛkshah tata pūrvēṇa: saiva guṇahāri garttēti bhāvishyataśca rāgnāh pragnāpayati, dharmakramē—

Third plate, First side.

19. me vikṛmmāi (mai)-rivāpya mahimbhava-dbhi-rāyam dāna dharmōnya pālaniyō vvasagitāschā tra slōka bhavanti: bahubhi = rva
20. sudhā dattā bahubhi śchānupālītā yasyayasya yadā bhūmi = stasya tasyatadāphalam...sva dattām parādattā-mvā ya—
21. tñād-raksha yudhishthira mahinmahī matām srēsththa dānāschchreyōnupālānam...shsthithiṁvarsha sahasrāṇi sva—
22. rggē mōdati bhūmidah ākshēptā chanumantācha tānyēvanarakē vasē-dityapaurva Naṭavamśēna mātṛ cha—
23. ndrasya sūnunā likhitam pallava chandrēṇa śāsanam svamuchcha [khā] gñayā mahāmahattara savaranandisārmṇēṇa prattakshya miti prva—
24. rddha māna vijayarājya samvatsara śatē chaturāsi ttē 184 utkrīṇam Chandi Chhandra bhōgtka tanayēna Sarvva Chandrēṇēti
25.(mapudi)??

THE PAMULAVAKA COPPER PLATE

GRANT OF VIJAYADITYA VII *

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.,

This is the second of the two copper plate inscriptions found recently at Pāmūlavāka in Vizag District. The history of its discovery was already given (Vide page 242 of this Journal)

This is the bigger and the more recent of the two sets of plates. This set consists of five plates. Each plate measures 10 × 5 inches. The first and the last plates contain letters on one side only, the outer sides being left entirely blank to serve as covers to the inscription so as, to preserve the writing in tact. The three middle plates contain writing on both sides. The rims of all the plates are raised so as to protect the writing from being erased or rubbed off. The letters are big, bold and clear. There is a hole to the left, 1½ inches from the left edge, through which passes the ring, the two ends of which will be soldered into a circular seal. Unfortunately, as stated before, the ring and the seal are lost. However, two copper-plates of this very same King were discovered at Ryāli, a village 17 miles off Rajahmundry in 1925 and they were, I understand, edited for Epigraphia Indica by my friend, Mr. C. Narayana Rao M.A., L.T. I happened to read the inscriptions then and I gave a review of the same in the Society's Journal Vol. I part III, page 168. The seals of those plates contained the legend "Sri Tribhuvanāmkusa" and above it, the images of a boar, sun, moon, two chāmaras, a conch and a drum were inscribed and below it, an elephant goad and a lotus flower. All these E. Chalukyan Royal Emblems, I think, were inscribed on the missing seal of this plate also. Please vide image of seal printed on the front covers of Vol. I Parts I and II of this Society's Journal. The total weight of the 5 plates is 210 Tolas.

Alphabet and Language:—

The Alphabet or Lipi of these plates closely resembles that of the Ryāli plates of this very king (unpublished) and that of the Nandampudi plates of his elder step-brother Rājā Rāja Narēndra published in Telugu Academy Journal Vol. I, Part I. Also, it resembles the original lipi of the Andhra Mahā Bhāratam which was written by Nannaya Bhat, the court-poet of Rājā Rāja I. It is old Andhra lipi, with an admixture of certain Canarese characters, of the latter half of the eleventh century A. D.

The whole inscription is in Sanskrit prose and poetry.

* This paper was read before the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting of the society held on 7-4-1928.

Subject matter of the plates:—

The inscription gives a genealogy which is partly mythical, partly legendary and partly historical.

(1) The mythical account begins with "Purushōttamasya mahatō Narāyaṇasya", thus connecting the dynasty with the lineage of Narāyaṇa or Viṣṇu; hence, the symbol 'Boar' on the E. Chalukyan seals. The mention of "Sômô vamśa" in L. 3 shows that the dynasty belonged to the Lunar Race. As far as the name of Yayāti, the genealogy resembles that given in the later E. Gāṅga plates of Kalinga.

(2) The legendary account begins with the name of Udayāna in L. 22. Including Udayāna, 59 Emperors sat on the throne at Ayōdhyā in unbroken succession. Then, a member of that Vamśa or Dynasty, called Vijayāditya went to the south, from a desire of conquest and attacked Trilōchana-Pallava but lost his own life. Then, his pregnant wife, Mahādēvi, reached Mudivēmu-Agrahāra along with her priest and officers and receiving support, like a daughter, from an inhabitant of the place, called Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Somayāji gave birth to a son called Viṣṇu-Vardhana (named probably after Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭa Somayāji, her foster-father).

That child received the initiation ceremony (Samskāra) as befitting his descent from the two sided Gōtra (Dvipaksha Gotra) viz., Mānavya and Hārīta. And, daily growing in age, he learnt the story of the past, repaired to Chalukya Giri (cf. Mahēndragiri of the E. Gangas), worshipped Nandadevi (Gauri) and fulfilled the desires of Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and Mātrū Gaṇa (the seven mothers of man-kind) and by the mercy of the Gods, obtained the Sovereign Emblems, viz., Svetāta Patra (white umbrella), Śankha (conchshell), Pañcha mahā śabda (The five great sounds), Palikētana (The row of flags), Pratidhakka (double drum), Varāhalañchhana (the crest of boar) Piñcha (Peacock feathers), Kuntha (spear), Simhāsana (throne), Makara Tōrana, Kanakadandī (gold sceptre), Gaṅgāyamunādi Sāmrajya chihna (the Ganga, Yamuna and other Sovereign insignia) and conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other kings and ruled over Dakṣiṇāpatha, lying between Śetū and Narmada and containing $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of villages. The son of that *Viṣṇuvardhana* and his wife Mahadēvi who was born in the Pallava lineage was *Vijayāditya*. His son was *Pulikesin I*.

(3) The historical account begins with *Pulikesin I* who is however really the son of *Rṃarāja* and grand-son of *Jayasimha I*, according to the western Chalukyan inscriptions. His (Pulikesin's) son was *Kirtivarma*. His son, the brother of *Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra*, was *Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana* who ruled over Vēṃgi Dēsa for 18 years. Then follows the whole genealogy of the E. Chalukyan kings down to the donor, with the regnal periods of the several kings. This grant mentions the 7 days rule of Indra Rāja,

the younger son of Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, and the 27 years of anarchy in Vēṃgi Desa after Danarṇava's rule.

The importance of this inscription lies in the lines 59 to 65. It is stated that Saktivarma's younger brother ruled for 7 years and that his name was Mummadi Bhima or Bhima III. I find from Raja Raja's Nandampudi plates that his father Vimaladitya had the title of Bhima. Vimaladitya was the younger brother of Saktivarma. So, the younger brother of Saktivarma who ruled for 7 years (according to this plate) and who had the title Bhima III should be Vimaladitya. The Nandampudi and Korumelli plates of Raja Raja I and the Chittur and Chellur plates of Kulōttunga give each a period of 7 years' rule to Vimaladitya. Since the date of accession of Raja Raja, as given in most plates, is 1022 A. D., we have to suppose that Vimaladitya ruled from 1015 A. D. to 1022 A. D. But the Ranastapudi plates of Vimaladitya state that he was crowned in May 1011 A. D. There is a stone inscription of this king, dated 29th regnal year of Chola Raja Kesari Varma, in a temple at Tiruvaiyur near Tanjore, which corresponds to 1014 A. D. (Vide Ep. Rep. No. 215 of 1891). So, it is possible that this king who married Kundava, the daughter of the Chola king, Raja Raja I sometime about 999 A. D. remained in the south till 1015, when he was reinstated on the throne of Vengi. Hence, the latter inscriptions have given a period of 7 years only to his reign, i. e., from 1015-1022 A. D., omitting the previous period which he spent in the south.

Lines 60-65 state that Mummidi Bhima's (Vimaladitya's) son, Raja Raja I ruled for 12 years and then, having conquered him, Vimaladitya's son, Vijayaditya (born to another queen Mēḍava Mahā Dēvi alias Mālava-Mahādēvi) got the throne and that his coronation took place in Śaka 952 (1030 A. D.) for the Vēṃgi Sāmraṇyam.

This is a new point. Raja Raja's plates as well as his son's (Kullōttunga's) plates state that he was crowned in 1022 A. D. and ruled for 41 years i. e., till 1063. Vijayaditya's own plates (Ryali plates, two sets which are not yet published. Vide Page 168. pt 3. Vol. I of this Society's Journal) give a different story. There, he is said to have succeeded to the Vengi throne on the death of his elder step-brother, Rājā Rājā Narēndra. But, he allowed his son Saktivarma II to rule and after the premature death of that son after one year's rule, he took the reins of government into his hands, being pressed by the people to do so and out of regard for Dharma. Both the grants were made in the 12th regnal year of Vijayaditya, i. e., in 1075 A. D. But, in the present plate, all this is omitted and a new story is given. Raja Raja's rule for 12 years, his defeat at the hands of his own younger step-brother, Vijayaditya, Vijayaditya's coronation to Vengi throne in Śaka 952 (1030 A. D.) all these are new materials which should be taken with great caution. As stated already, there are strong evidences to the contrary. The internal evidence is also not satisfactory. It

would appear that Vijayaditya was crowned in Saka 952 (1030 A. D.), while Raja Raja who began to rule from 1022 A. D. ended it after 12 years i. e., in 1034 A. D. what happened in the period between 1030 A. D. and 1034 A. D. is not described. Was there civil strife between the two brothers for the throne? It would appear that Vijayaditya was governing Nolambavadi as a vassal of the W. Ch. King Someswara I (Ahavamalla) during 1064-1066 A.D. (Vide An. Report on S. I. Ep. for 1924-25 p. 75). He had the titles "Sarvalôkāsraya Vishnuvardhana and Vēngimaṇḍulēsvara". He appears to be 'the vassal of W. Chalukyans even for some time prior to 1046'. (Vide p. 219, Vol. I of J.A.H.R.S.) This shows that he left Vengi during his brother's rule. Vijayaditya's rule even after Raja Raja's death in 1063 A. D. was not an easy affair. Vimaladitya and Raja Raja I and Kullotunga were related to the Chola kings of the south and naturally Vijayaditya who was not of Chola lineage was treated with dislike. Attempts were also made to deprive him of his hold over Vengi, especially after Raja Raja's death. The Visag [copperplate of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated Saka Era 1040 (Ind. Ant. Vol. 18) as well as the Kornī copperplate of the same king dated Saka 1034 (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I Part 3) state thus:-"Raja Raja (of Kalinga) reigned for 8 years (1070-1077 A.D.) He first became the husband of the goddess of victory in the festival of battle with the Dramilas (Cholas) and next married Rajasundari, the daughter of the Chola King. When Vijayaditya grew old like the setting sun and left Vengi which was in the west, and when he was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Cholas, Raja Raja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region itself."

From the above account, it is clear that the E. Ganga king of Kalinga, Raja Raja, by name, helped to reinstate Vijayaditya of Vengi when he was attacked by the Cholas. Anantavarma of Kalinga also states in his inscriptions that he restored the waning lord of Vengi in the western region. Evidently, this help given by the Eastern Ganga Kings refers to a period subsequent to 1063 A. D. when, Vira Rajendra, and Kullotunga, who succeeded to the Chola throne in 1063 and 1070 A. D., respectively probably tried to wrest Vengi off Vijayaditya's hands.

The Donor, Sri Sarva Lôkāsrya Sri Vishṇu Vardhana Mahārājō Rājādhi Rāja Sri Vijayāditya Dēva, made the grant of *Kompôlômgu village* along with 12 other villages in his second regnal year, in the presence of all his ministers and assembled village heads and cultivators to a certain Bhima Bhupa for the help given by him.

The writer was Gaukācharya and the executor was Katakā Dhīśa, the same person who executed the grant of Raja Raja's Nāṇḍampudi grant.

From the plates, we get the following genealogy :—

Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu)

Svayambhū (Brahma)

Atri

Sōma (Moon), (Founder of a dynasty.)

Budha

Purūrava Chakravarti

Āyush

Nahusha

Yayāti Chakravarti, (Founder of a Race.)

Prāchīśa

Sainyayāti

Hayapati

Sārvabhauma

Jayasēna

Mahābhauma

Aisānaka

Krōdhānana

Devaki

Richuka

Rikshaka

Matinara (Performer of sacrifices and Lord of
R. Saraswati.)

Kārtiāyana

Nila

Dushyanta.....

{ His son set up sacrificial posts
(Yūpa) on the banks of Gangā
and Yamunā rivers and performed
great rites like Aśvamēdhā and

got the name of, *Bharata*

Bhūmanyu

Suhōtra

Hāsti

Virōchana

Ajamila

Samvarana

Tapana

Sudhanva

Parikshita

Bhīmasēna

Pradipana

Śantanu

Vichitra Vīrya

Pāndu Raja

Pañcha Pāndavās, of whom '*Arjuna*' armed with Gāṇḍīva, conquered Indra, burnt Khāṇḍava forest, obtained the weapon of Pāśupata from Siva, the enemy of Andhaka, killed Kālikēya and others and ascended half the throne of Indra and cut down the forest of Kuru race. Arjuna

Abhimanyu

Parikshit

Janamējaya

Kshēmuka

Naravāhana

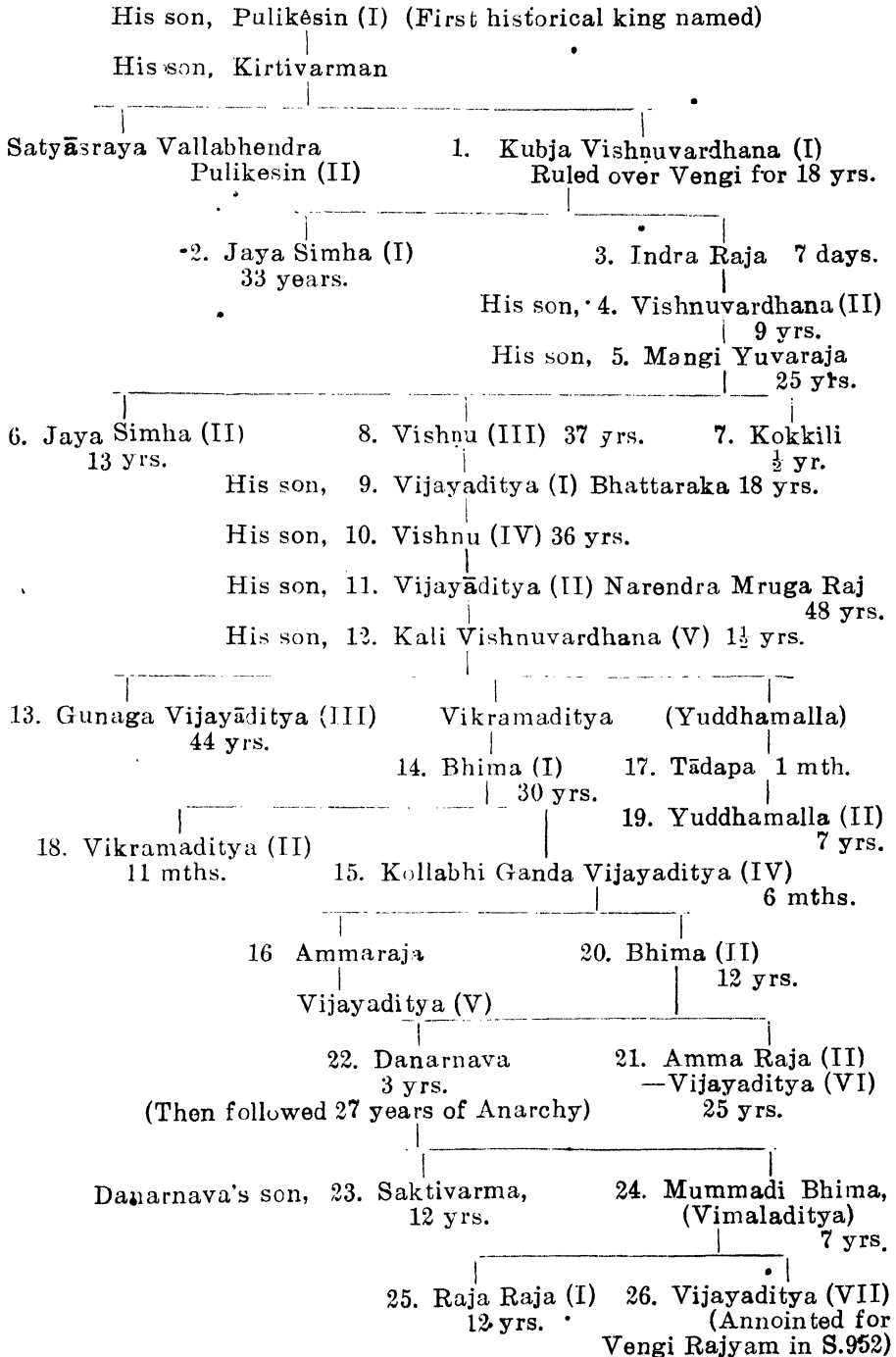
Śatānika

Udayāna (Commencing with him, 59 kings ruled over Ayōdhya).

Then, Vijayāditya, a king of the line, went to the Dekkan but lost his life while attacking Trilōchana—Pallava.

His son, Vishnuvardhana—(ruled over the Dekkan, having defeated Kadambas, Gangas etc.)

His son, Vijayāditya .



TEXT *

First Plate, Secnd side.

1. Om! ** ¹Sri dhāmnah Purushōttamasya Mahatō Nārāyaṇasya
Prabhōrnnābhī paṁkaruhātba
2. bhūva jagatassra śhṭā Svayambhū statah | Jajñēmānasa sūnurA-
tri riti yastasmān munē rAtri
3. tasSômō Vamśakarassudham ²surudita Srikanṭha chūḍā maṇih |
³tasmā dāsi tsudhām ⁴sūbhu
4. dhō budhanuta statah jatah ⁵Purūravā nāmacha | Kravarti sa-
vikramah | tasmādAyu rAyushō
5. Nahushah | Nahushā dyaYātischakravarti Vamśakarta ⁶tatah
Prāchīśah Prachī
6. sātSyinyayati Saina Yātō Hāyapatih | HayapatēsSāvva bhaumah
Sārvabhau
7. mājJayasēnah Jayasanā n Mahābhaumah Mahabhaumād Aisāna-
kah | Aisāna
8. kakKrōdhānanah Krōdhānanād Dēvakih | Dēvakē | Richukah
Richukād Rakshakah | RikshakānMa
9. tinarah ⁷Satrayāgayājī Saraswatīnadīnāthah | tatah Kārtiyāyanah
Kārtiyā
10. YanānNilah NilāDushyantah tatsutah | ⁸Āryā | GamGōyumunāti-
rēya ⁹

Second Plate, First Side.

11. davichchimnnam nikhāya ¹⁰Yupānkramasah kṛtvātadāsvamēdān-
nama mahākarmma Bharata i
12. ti yōlabhatah tatō Bharatā d Bhūmanyuh Bhūmanyē s Suhētrah
SSuhōtrā dhdHastī Hasti
13. nō Virrōchanah Virochanā ¹¹d Ajamilah Ajamilāt Samvaranah
Samvaranasya tapanasu
14. tāyās Tapanatyāscha Sudhanvā Sudhanvanah Parikshit Parikshitō
Bhimasēnah
15. Bhimasenāt Pradipānah Pradipānā śchamntanuh ¹²Santanōv
Vichitra vīryyah Vichitra
16. Vīryāt Pāṇdu rājah | Āryā ¹³ | putrāstasyachaDharmmaja BhīmA
rjuna Nakula
17. Sahadēvāh pañchēndriyavat pañchasyuv Vishaya grāhinastatra |
Vṛttam ¹⁴ | yēnādahiviji

*. From the original plates.

**. Represented by an ornate symbol.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Sārdūla Vikridita. | 2. Read śuruditah. | 3. Anusṭub ślōka. |
| 4. Read śōbbudhō | 5. „ Jātah. | 6. Read Kartā. |
| 7. „ Varah. | 8. Aryāgiti. | |
| 9. „ Gamgāyumunātīrēya. | 10. •Read Nidhāya. | 11. „ Virōchanā. |
| 12. „ Chchantanuh. | 13. Aryāgiti. | 14. śardūla. |

[illegible]

ਮਾਨਸਿਕ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖਤਾ ਦੇ ਪੜਾਅ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੰਮ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ
 ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੇ ਉਦਾਹਰਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਦੇ
 ਅਨੁਭਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਸਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕਰਮ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੇ
 ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕਰਮ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਮਝਣ ਦੇ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕਰਮ ਹਨ।
 ਇਹ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕਰਮ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਮਝਣ ਦੇ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕਰਮ ਹਨ।

18. tya kāṇḍava¹⁵ matho gaṇḍivinā Vajriṇah yuddhē pāsapatāstra
mandaka ripōschālābhidai
19. tyānbahū' nindrā rdhdhāsana madyarōhijayinā yatkālikēyādi
kāṇhatvā svairamakāri

Second Plate, Second Side.

20. varṇsavipina śchēdah kurūṇamvibhōh tatōrjunādAbhimanyuh
Nyōh¹⁶ Parikshit Parikshitō
21. Janamējayah JanamējayātKshēmukah KshēmukāNaravāhanah
Naravāhanā¹⁷schatānikah
22. Śātānikād Udayanah tatah paramta tpra bhṛti Svavichchhinna
Santānēśv Ayōlhyā Simhāsanaśi
23. nēśvekānnashashti chakravattishu gatēshu tadvamsyē **Vijayadi-**
tya nāmarāja vi
24. jigishayā Dakṣiṇa patham gatvā **Trilochana Pallava** madikshipya
daivaduriha
25. yā lōkāntaramagamat tasminsamkule purōhitēna Sārdhdhaman-
tarvvatni tasya
26. **Mahadevi Mudivemunamagrahara** mupagamya Tadvāstavyēna
Vishnubhatta Somayajinā duhi
27. tta¹⁸ nivviśēsha¹⁹ mabhirakshitāsati nandana **Vishnuvardhdha-**
na nnāma prasūya tasyacha kumārakasya Ma²⁰
28. navyāsa Gōtra Hārītiputra Dvipaksha Gōtra kramōchitāni karm-
manikārayitvātama vardhdhaya
29. tsachamātrāvidita vṛtīānta ssannirggatya Chalukyagirau Nandaṁ
Bhagavatim Gōimāradya²¹ Ku

Third Plate, First Side.

30. māraNarāyana Mātigaṇā nsamttrappya Śvētātapatraika Śamkha
Paṁchamahā Śabda Pā
31. li katana²² Pratiḍakka²³ Varāhalamchana Piṁcha Kunta Simhā-
sana Makara Tōraṇa Kanakada
32. ṇḍa Gaṁgā Yamunā dīni svakula kramāgatā nikshiptāniva tat-
sāmbrājya²⁴ chihṇāni sa
33. mādāya Kadamba Gaṁgādi Bhūmipān nijitya²⁵ Śetu Narmadā ma-
dhyaṁ sārḍha Saptalaksham

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 15. Read Khāṇḍava. | 16. Read 'Abhimanyōh'. | 17. Read naravāhanāchochha. |
| 18. „ duhitṭu. | 19. „ Nirvviśēsha. | 20. „ mā. |
| 21. „ Gaurimārādhyā. | | 22. „ Kātana. |
| 23. „ pratiḍhakka. | 24. „ Sāmbrājya. | 25. „ nirjitya. |

34. Dakṣiṇā pathaṁ pālāyāmāsa | ²⁶ Slōkaṁ | Tasyāsīd—**Vijayaditye Vishnuvi**
 35. **rdhhdhana** ²⁷ **bhupateh** Pallavānvaya jatāyā ²⁸ mahīdēvyāscha nandanah | ²⁹ Tatsutah **Po**
 36. **lakesi** ³⁰ **vallabhah** | Tatputrah **Kittivarmma** ³¹ | Tasya tanayah svasti srimataṁ sakalabhuva
 37. na samstūyamāna Mānavyasa gōtrāṇāṁ Hārītī . putrāṇāṁ Kausīki varaprasāda labda
 38. rājyānāṁ Mātrugaṇaparipālītānāṁ Svami ³² Mahāsēna pādānudhyātānāṁ Bhagavan Nārā
 39. yaṇa prasāda samāsadita ³³ Varavarāḥalamchchhanē kṣhaṇa kṣhaṇa vaśīkrutārāti maṇḍa

Third Plate, Second Side.

40. lānāmasva mēdhāvabr̥tha snāna pavitrī kṛ ³⁴ ta vapushāṁ **Chalukyanam** Kulamalaṁka
 41. ³⁵ shṇō **SSatyasraya Vallabhendrasya** bhrātā **Kubja Vishnu Varddhano** shṭā daśa Varshāṇi Vēṁgīdēśama
 42. pālayat | tadātmaṁ **Jayasimgha** ³⁶ **Vallabhah** trayastrimśataṁ tadanujendra rajassa
 43. pta dināni | tatsutō **Vishnu Varddhano** vava ³⁷ | tatsūr ³⁸ **MMamgiyavarajah** pañcha viśatim ³⁹ tatputrō
 44. **Jayasimgha** ⁴⁰ **Vallabhah** strayōdaśa | tadavarajah **Kakkili** ⁴¹ shshanmāsān tasya jyēshṭhō
 45. bhrato **Vishnuvarddhana** stamuchchātya saptatrimśataṁ tatputrō **Vijayaditya Bhatta**
 46. **rako** shṭādaśa | tadanujō ⁴² **Vishnu Varddhana** shshatrim ⁴³ śataṁ | tatsūnur **Vijayaditya Narendra-Mrugaraja**
 47. schāsṭha chatvārimśataṁ . | tatsutah Kalivishnu **Varddhano** — rddhyaddha varshaṁ | tatsutō **Gunaga Vijayaditya** ⁴⁴ schatu
 48. schatvārimśataṁ | tadbhrātūr v**Vikramaditya** bhūpatē stanayas **Chalukya** ⁴⁵ **Bhima** strimśataṁ | tatsutah ⁴⁶
 49. **Kollebhiganda Vijayaditya** shaṇmāsān tatsūnur **Ammaraja** ssapta varshāṇi | tatsutah **vija**

26. Anushtub.

29. Prose portion begins.

32. Read Svāmi.

ten below the line.

37. „ nava.

40. „ Jayasimha.

43. „ shshatrim.

45. „ Chālukya Bhīma.

27. Read Varddhana.

30. Read Pulikēśi.

33. „ Samāsādita.

35. „ 'rishṇō'.

38. „ tatsūnurmmangi.

41. „ Kokkili.

44. „ Vijayāditya

46. „ tatsutah.

28. Read Jātāyā.

31. Read Kīrtivarma.

34. The letter 'kr' is w

36. Read Simha.

39. „ vimśataṁ.

42. „ tat—tanujō.

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

Fourth plate, First side.

50. **yadityam** bālamuchchāṭya **tadapo** māṣamēkam | tam jivā yudhi
Chalukya Bhimatamna ⁴⁷
51. yō **Vikramaditya** ēkādaśamāsān tat**Tadapara**ja sūtō **Yuddha-**
mallah sapta varsham⁴⁸
52. tam yuddhamallapam rihṭya dēśātpisṭvatarēṣhamapi Śātravānam
kshvāmanima⁴⁹ rājānujarā
53. ja **Bhimo** bhīmassamā dvā daśa rakshatismā tittsūnu ⁵⁰ vvinatā-
rātir **Ammarajo** nṛpāgrāṇi
54. pañchaviṃśati varshaṇi vēgī bhuvamapālayat dvaimāturōmma
nṛpatē rddā
55. **na nruo** rāja bhima nṛpatanayah vidyākālāpa⁵¹ bhaturah cāran-
tada rāma
56. pātsamā stisrah | anudānarnnavādā siddaiva duschēsṭayā tatah
sapta viṃśati varshā
57. ni vēngīmāhīranayikā atrāntarē **Dananarendra** sūnu **ssri** ⁵² **saki**
varmma surarātsadharmma
58. yaśsauryya śaktyā vinihatya śatrūnsadvādaśābdānsamarakṣa
durvīm tasyānu janmā⁵³ taśa
59. truruvīm saṁvatsarānpālayatisma sapta nirasta sapta vyasanah
pratāpi bhūpā

Fourth plate, Second side.

60. graṇi rīn**Mummadi Bhima bhupa** ⁵⁴ tasya mummadi Bhīmasya
sutah Kṛtamatirmmahā
61. **RajaRajahvayo** Rājād⁵⁵ dvadasā bdā ⁵⁶ ndhārāmapāt tamrāja rājam
⁵⁷ dṛpatim nirdhāṭya
62. bhuvah prasahya **Vijayadityah vimaladitya** ⁵⁸ **nuja** ⁵⁹ ta sya dvai-
māturo ⁶⁰ grahīdyarāṇyam
63. *Śrīmānśākē samaughē dṛgishunīdhimitē* Karkige Karkīśam Sau
Śuddhātmā śuddha pañchamyāditi
64. suta dinērsūryyābhē sauryya śālī | Kanyālagṇēti dhanya śasikula
tilakō rā
65. jamartaṇḍa sūnurv Vēngī⁶¹ Sāmbrāṇya paṭṭam smavahati **vijaya-**
ditya Bhupah pratā
66. pī | putriyannapi ⁶² śaraṇāttinam jighamsur jñātiryyānbhāṭa
vibhudhamscha satkriyā

47. Read Bhimatana.

50. „ tat-sūnu.

53. „ talasa.

57. „ nṛpatim.

the letter 'ta' omitted in "tanūja" is inscribed below the line here.

60. Read Grahīdrāṇyam.

48. Read varshāṇi.

51. „ chaturah.

54. „ bhūpah.

58. „ tanūja

61. Read Sāmbrāṇya.

49. Read Kṣamāmamma.

52. „ śaktivarma.

56. „ ndharā.

59. „ 'sya'. By mistake

62. „ śaraṇārdham.

67. bhih | mātcrayanparāyuvati rajihma Vṛttiry yōdhā trimavatin-
drupō yadhā svadharmmam vilamghaya
68. ntihimavanta muchchhairu mēraṅgam dvishati vichitram Gauri-
tisiddhāpi vibhāti KīrtisChālukya⁶³ Bhīma
69. kshitipasya yasya | ⁶⁴ sa **Sri Sarvvalokasraya Sri vishnu**
varddhana Maharajo Rajadhi Rajah
70. **Sri vijayadityadevo** rashtrakūṭa pramukhan kuṭīm bhinassarvān
⁶⁵ samāhūya sāmasta pradhā

Fifth Plate, First Side.

71. na samakshamittha ⁶⁶ māpayati | nihatyavairikshitipā | ⁶⁷ narē-
shān svikārayānbhūpatinādhara⁶⁸
72. trīm ⁶⁹ kuChammarājēna nijēsvarēṇa labdaprasādō bhavatisma
tasmāt | **Sri Chamerajasya** bhārata
73. scha Kāmāmbikāyāscha pativratāyāh Yō **Bhimabhupostanayō**
janishṭa | tasmai⁷⁰ dinātti dvija
74. bandhu budha surabhūruhāyamānāya | nāga⁷¹ kulabhūshanāya |
mēghagirinātha mēlpakandarppa
75. malayabhāskarāya | ⁷² samapājjita dharmmakammanē brhaspati
kalpāmātyā⁷³ śrīya
76. pa chamēna hannaya badhi paursha samupārjita rājya mahimnēm
kṛtaklēsi ni
77. mittē **Kompolomgu nama gramodvadasa gramascha** sūsani-
kṛtya dhārāpū
78. rvakam mayādatta iti | viditamastuvah | asyōparinakēna chid-
badhā kartta
79. Vyāyah karōtisa | panēcha mahāpātakō bhavati | ⁷⁴ Bahubhirvva-
sudhadattā bahubhischānupā
80. litā | Yasya yasya yadhābhūmistasya tasya tadāphalam | Sva-
dattāmvā yōharē
81. tu vasundharam shashtivarsha sahasrāṇi Vishtāyām jāyate
krimih | **Asya dvitiyavarsha Varddha**
82. nē dattasyā śasanasya **Ajnapti Katakadhisah** śasana lōkakascha
Gaukacharyah *

63. The letter 'rā' was first written and then changed into 'Bhi'.

64. Prose portion begins.

65. 'Samvā' was first written and then corrected into 'Samā.'

66. Read mājñāpayati. 67. Read naśēshān. 68. Read dharitrim.

69. Read śrī Chamma. 70. Read dinārthi. 71. 'ga' is written below the line. 72. Read Samupārjita. 73. Read śrēya.

74. This and the following Anushtubh verse are the usual benedictory and imprecation. Vyāsagitās found at the end of grants. * An ornate symbol.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

1. Lines 1 to 22:—Give the *Puranic Genealogy* which commences with *Nārayaṇa* or *Vishṇu* and stops at *Udayana*.
2. Lines 22 to 23:—Give the *Legendary account* which states that from *Udayana*, 59 kings sat on the throne of *Ayóthya*.
3. Lines 23 to 25:—State that a king of the line, *Vijayāditya* went to the Dekkan and having attacked *Trilôchana-Pallava* lost his life.
4. Lines 25 to 29:—State that his pregnant wife then escaped with her priest etc., to *Mudivēmu Agrahāra* and being cherished as a daughter by *Vishṇubhaṭṭa Sômayāji* of the place, gave birth to a son called *Vishṇu Vardhana* who, as befitted his descent from the two-sided Gotra, was initiated into the rites of *Mānavya* and *Hārita* Gotras.
5. Lines 29 to 34:—State that *Vishṇu Vardhana* having heard the past history, repaired to *Chalukyagiri*, worshipped *Nandam Bhagavati* and other Gods and by their favour, obtained the Insignia of Sovereignty belonging to his dynasty, conquered the *Kadamba*, *Ganga* and other kings and ruled over the whole of South India, lying between *Setu* in the South and *R. Narmada* in the north.
6. Lines 34 to 36:—State that to *Vishṇuvardhana* and *Mahādevi* of *Pallava* line, was born *Vijayāditya*. His son was *Pulikesin*.
7. Lines 36 to 60:—Give the geneology and chronology Vide (P.283.)
8. Lines 61 to 62:—State that *Raja Raja I* ruled for 12 years only and that, having defeated him, *Vijayāditya* seized the land.
9. Lines 63 to 65:—State that *Vijayādityabhūpa* assumed the sovereignty of *Vemgi*, his Coronation having taken place in *Saka 952* (A.D. 1030) on Sunday, *Kārtika Suddha pañchami* (fifth tithi in Nov.), in *Kanyālagna*.
10. Lines 66 to 70:—Describe the good qualities of *Vijayāditya*. He treated the refugees as his sons, relatives and servants with discipline, the wise with care and regard, other females as mothers, etc. He had the titles "*Chalukya Bhima, Sarvalôkasraya, Vishṇu-Vardhana Maharaja and Rājadhiraja Sri Vijayāditya*".
11. Lines 70 to 71:—State that the royal command was addressed to the assembled *Reddi chiefs* (*Rashtrakuta Pramukhas*) and *Cultivators* (*Kutumbinas*) in the presence of all the ministers.
12. Lines 71 to 76:—State the good qualities of, and the services rendered by, *Chammaraja* and his son *Bhima Bhupa* to the cause of *Vijayāditya*. *Bhima Bhupa's* good qualities are particularly praised.
13. Lines 77 to 79:—State that, owing to the hard services rendered by him, (*Bhima Bhupa*) the village of *Kompôlôngu* along with its twelve hamlets was granted to him, free from all obstacles.
14. Lines 79 to 81:—Give the two usual *Vyasa Gitas*.
15. Lines 81 to 82:—State that, in the second regnal year, the grant was made. The executor was *Katakādhisa* and writer was *Gaukācharya*.

. "SIR R. VENKATARATNAM" ANDHRA UNIVERSITY LECTURES*

Delivered at Rajahmundry by Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., (Cal.) DLitt (Paris)

1. Hindū Temple Architecture in Indo-China.

In introducing the learned lecturer Dr. Nag, the Joint Secretary of the Society, Mr. R. Subbarao, M. A., requested the Principal of the Government Arts College, Mr. W. B. Brierly Esq., to take the chair for the University lectures. The chairman then called upon the learned lecturer to deliver his lecture which is as follows:—
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I express gratification at the privilege to have this chance for presenting before you the documents of that chapter of our history which unfortunately was systematically neglected in the academic circles. I propose to present Indian History from the point of view of documents which I had the privilege of deciphering—documents which would speak for themselves and which would convey quite a different significance of the term "India." I will show that India was not limited within her boundaries, the Himalayas and the Ocean, but her cultural activities extended far beyond. Speaking of the cultural migration of Indians by the land route, I will present documentary evidence which clearly shows how Saivism, Vaishnavism, and Buddhism penetrated into the far Central-Asian regions, in the early centuries of the prechristian era. Instances are found of spiritual fusion within the temples. Innumerable records are found which preach about the philosophy of love, fraternity, charity, universal brotherhood, and identification of ego, emerging from India, so far back as 500 years before Christ.

Ancient Persia, Afghanistan, North Kashmir, the Gobi, China, Korea and Japan owed to India much of their spiritual culture and enlightenment. Even Brahmins migrated into China, settled there, studied the language of the people and translated Indian works into the Chinese language with perfect ease. Those documents are unearthed and preserved by the Chinese and Japanese archæologists. All these documents are found in China, Central Asia and Japan.

* A series of three lectures was delivered under the auspices of the Andhra University on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Nov. 1927 in the Veeresalingam High School Hall. The society, at the request of the University authorities, convened the meetings and made all necessary arrangements. The fourth lecture, published after this series, was delivered under the auspices of this society. As all the lectures are found to be very interesting, detailed abstracts of the same are published.

Though these documents touch only the outer fringe of India's cultural activities, they are an undeniable proof how "Greater India" was built up. The Chinese even studied Sāṅkhyā, one of the earliest philosophical systems of India, to understand Buddhism thoroughly. Suddharma, whose name is forgotten in India, was born of a Brahmin father and a central Asian mother and he translated several Indian books into the Chinese. These are marvellous writings which have been corroborated, and these clearly prove how Indian culture spread to far off lands in those ancient times.

Next, as regards the migration of Indian culture along the sea-routes, there are documentary evidences preserved in Indian temples in the Island of Bali, Indo-China, Polonesia etc. The whole story of Ramayana is depicted on the temple walls. Indian Architecture is evident on many structures. Sanskrit and Dravidian names, such as Sāmantha Bhatta, Channapataka, Suvarna-Bhumi, Champa, Kambhoja, Gangadarsanam etc., are an indisputable evidence of India's influence and migration to Indo-China and Eastern Archipelago. The ornaments and images in temples also corroborate the same. The mythological legends of Indo-China seem to be of Indian origin. The inscriptions found in far off Siam prove the same. Indians, personating as merchants and missionaries went to foreign places and enunciated there the mysteries of Indian art and Indian philosophy. All these evidences prove that our ancestors were not barbarians but were highly civilised and helped far off places with civilisation. Though the Sastras declare prohibition of sea-going, there seem to be no such restrictions then and people were seafaring and adventurous. The preposterous and ludicrous conclusion of "the dark age" of our country is a veritable fabrication. India's great colonial civilisation and cultural Empire is the most effective contradiction of that doctrine.

The lecturer then showed the following magic lantern slides, illustrative of the influence of Indian Art and Culture, Philosophy and Mythology in Indo-China:—

1. Map of Indo-China; 2. Champa; 3. Buddha (2nd C. A. D.); 4. Buddha of Champa—A standing statue; 5. Monkmers like, the Mundas, are a primitive people of Indo-China; 6. Avalōkiteswara; 7. Snake heads (Bodhisattva); 8. Linga and Saivism near Champa lake; 9. Siva; 10. Red Brick-Sculpture like S. I. Temple; 11. Pyramidal temple of Meso; 12. A Vishnu temple of 11th C. A. D. 13. A lake; 14. A three storeyed Vishnu temple; 15. A square column and halls, A. S. I. Window, Gothic roof, Pillars like a Chaitya; 16. A Combojian goddess wearing Indian jewels; 17. Lake with king and his dancers, King going to war, on Elephant with Soldiers; 18. Stories of Epic Warfare, Kurukshetra; 19. Buddha, Marble statue on Snake; 20. Hari Hara, Churning of Ocean, Snake, Devas and

Asuras, Creation; 21. Vishnu and Garuda; 22. (Sian) Sita carried by Ravana, Jatayu quarreling; 23. Yesovarman who built a city; 24. Vaishnava temple with Ramayana pictures; 25. A temple with four towers and a central tower having Siva, with four faces; 26. A temple 2 miles \times 80 feet, containing Epic Stories Built by King Suryavarman; 27. (Stone) Lion Sitting; 28. Ganga and Makara, A human figure in makara's mouth, A stone figure of a God with crown, Facial features are all of Champa origin; 29. Ganesha standing with sweets (Wearing Dhoti); 30. Mayura and Kumaraswamy; 31. A map of Kambhoja; 32. Epic writings; 33. Temple with Tank, 34. Lokanath and Lokeswara with jewels and four attendants.

2. Hindu Art and Culture in the East Indies.

With your permission, I would try to give you a very brief outline of the history of Indian colonization. The subject is very vast and the colonization of Indo-China, which I had the privilege to discuss before you last evening, is simply one of colonial zones and there were several such zones in the Eastern waters and the proper study of those zones of cultural and commercial colonization of India would be quite profound and interesting. You should be charitable with a humble lecturer like myself with one throat, discussing a topic to which justice could not be done even by many throated individuals. You find legends of Tharmāsu, whose name is connected with the sending of missionaries to Burma, known as Suvarṇabhūmi. From a thorough examination of the particular geographical term, Suvarṇabhūmi, we see it is not simply Burma, but the whole of Malay Peninsula. There is another expression Suvarṇadīvi, the golden island. They give us an idea of the great commercial and cultural migration of India along the Eastern shore. Sreeśhētram and Sreevijayam—the great Naval Empire I touched upon—indicate not merely the Indian exploitation from a political sense, but the greatest incorporation of the genius of the Hindu race. "Sree", the word for beauty and wealth and "Lakshmi" are synonymous. "Sree" represents this marvellous Lakshmi—a great symbol to me, as a historian of ancient India. History of Greater India is the history of the wonderful Indian spirit of service to impose her civilization and culture on the respective cultural zones of Indo-Asia.

I brought before your notice the geographical term "Indo-China" suggesting the diffusion of Indian culture. So, also, you find in ancient times, Afghanistan named as Indo-Minor. Across the desert you find that marvellous continent, Seri India and Sero-Indo-China and India collaborating. In Indo-Asia, the island zone we find Indian culture and Indian religious ideas predominately. The whole culture

that you get here is the result of the interaction of the Aryan and the Dravidian going back to B. C. Hindustan and Sindustan are variations of the same.*

I am now passing on to the Monkmer family of the Malaya Polanesian Group. These illiterate brothers contributed as much and probably more, to the progress of civilisation. Our elder brothers have given us legacies of design and art. All these facts are to be taken into consideration, in order to appreciate the development of human civilization. The contributions of the primitive races are marvellous and we have to acknowledge them with gratitude.

Intimate connection existed between Madagascar in South Africa and Eastern Islands i. e., Island India, because India was the dominating factor in the evolution of the race inhabiting this particular zone. From the reports got from the merchants coming that side, we find mention of things coming from Eastern seas. As early as 2nd century A. D. Java is known as Yāvadwīpam and in the 3rd century A. D. we hear of Cīrāmpa. These are all landmarks in the path of the great adventurous cultural missionaries from India. The observations of Valmiki in the Ramayana regarding the mines of gold and silver in Yavadvīpa are not to be misunderstood. There is a good deal of history under that poetic fancy and fabrication. I am quite sure that when excavations are made in Sumatra, it will produce wonderful results. There is a series of inscriptions written in the Sanskrit language. These inscriptions have been identified to be in Vengi alphabet. Professor Kern of the University of Leyden studied the remains which have been found in the islands of Bali, Borneo, and other places and came to the conclusion that these islands received Indian culture. The curious inscription in Koota river is written in Sanskrit. It deals about the rituals. These rituals are celebrated on the far-off coast of Borneo. The term Divākara Rajaguru of those areas indicate that they adopted Hinduism of the different denominations. They reared up marvellous monuments of architecture and sculpture and primitive art of painting. The Island of Madura contains evidences of Indian civilization.

Bali island received Indian influences. I had the privilege to visit this island and to see beautiful monuments of Indian art and religion and innumerable scenes on painted cloth as we find in the Andhra country. The Ramayana is in one of the relics found in the Island of Celebes. There is a continuous history of Java till the 15th century, when the Moslems conquered them. Then, a large number of Kshatriyas considered it beneath their dignity to live under Moslems. To find, therefore, migration of Hindus from Java into Bali. Bali assimilated many different arts of Indian culture. Bali remained as the island museum of India in the heart of the Pacific. The Brahmins there still wear their sacred threads, and perform their Saṁdhyā. I had

the privilege to enter Pandita Jalandhara's cottage which looked so much like the Indian cottage. Balinese scholars never learnt any European language. These pundits are performing their rituals. In this instinct of conservatism, we have the relics of past history suitable for a vagabond historian and discoverer. They have forgotten Indian language. Subsidiary language is also forgotten. But the names of Indian texts, as Manuscripts etc., are kept in tact. They are written in the Balinese language. Let us hope that the University which is starting with a new hope would incorporate a new chapter in Indian history. This enfranchisement is sure to come and I hope scholars knowing South Indian epigraphy would be sent over there to collaborate with the Dutch scholars, to disentangle and explain adequately those inscriptions. The investigation is to be conducted with the spirit of humanity, without any snobbishness to achieve the best results.

Then, the lecturer showed the following slides which evoked much interest amongst the audience:—

1. Pandava temples in C. Java; 2. Temple of Chandi Bhima, Arjuna, and Yudhishthira; 3. Indo-Javanese temples; 4. Chandi Bhima temple like S. I. temple (Kanchi); 5. Siva, Mahishā Sura Mardani, Jewels of Java; 6. Lalitha Visthara, Jataka stories of Buddha, Lives of Buddhist Saints all depicted on a Stupa surrounded by several Stupas compare (Koti Lingams of Sankaram); 7. Barabads A series of Circular Stupas and halls surrounded by gardens (Sailendra Kings' work); 8. Lamps of Architecture, Makara Torana and Kirtimukha Temple of Javanese Buddha; 9. Reliefs of Barabades Buddha Purana, Gods requesting, Buddha to incarnate, on either side of Buddha; 10. Buddha's 'parents and servant's compare Gāndhāra reliefs Lalitha Visthara; 11. Buddha in tower; 12. A big Buddha, sitting, Abhayamudra; 13. Avalokāteśvara, Buddha jewelled, lotus throne, drapery, crown which contains a small Buddha figure; 14. two temples of Adhi Buddha, Avalokāteśvara, and Manjā Sri; 15. Bronze Statue, compare Nalanda statue, Pala statue etc; 16. Maitreya sitting on a throne; 17. Prajñā Parimitā, Queen—Mother of Buddha; 18. Buddha standing, four armed figure Lakṣmī; 19. Nataraja with 3 heads and 6 arms; 20. Siva Temple in Prambanam or Brahma-nam; 21. Brahma, Vishnu, Siva; 22. Ramayana Scenes; 23. A 13th C. Java art temple in which Ramayana and Vishnu figures are found; 24. Fall of Sailendras; 25. Madhupa Kingdom, arose—Cholas under Rajendra conquered Malay, Sumatra, Java, Empire of Vijaya fell. 26. Harishchandra, Vignēśvara, Kumbakarna, Elephant disturbing his sleep; 27. Music instruments, Drum, Flute, Veena and Chitar, Dancing Party in Sculpture; 27. Shadow plays (Ramayan and Bharata) Krishna, Bhima; 28. Rāmābhishēkam Sculptures; 29. Ravana carrying Seeta, Jatayu killed; 30. Rama and Lakshmana entering

treaty with Sugriva, Vali Sugriva Yuddham, Rama's help; 2. Sethu Bandhanam, Squirrel helping, Lanka Dahanam, Anjaneya and Seeta; 32. Anjaneya and Rama, Bharata Heroes dance; 33. Thrimūrti Vishnu, Garuda, Snakes compare Ellora Rock temple Sculptures.

3. Hindu Rituals and Ceremonies in the Bali isles.

Mr. President, Ladies and my friends of the Andhra Desa:—

"I take this opportunity, on the eve of my departure to, thank the authorities of the Andhra University for kindly inviting me to deliver this course of lectures and, also thank the student community and the public of Andhra Desa for demonstrating their enthusiasm which has given me courage and strength to say the things that I have been saying. I want to convey my deep sense of gratitude to all of you.

"The topic which I am taking up, as I told you last evening is the continuation of the migration of Indian culture into Indo-Asia. I discussed it with reference to different islands where we find relics of Indian civilisation. I mentioned Barneo, Madupa, and incidentally, Sumutra and Java, but mainly, We must note the wonderful survival of Hindu culture, myths, legends, rituals and ceremonies in the island of Bali. I shall show you certain things which would make you forgive me for the infliction of archaeology with which I bored you. I speak of the artistic life of one great island of Indo-Asia, Java, where we find connected history, century after century, from the beginning of the Christian era down to the 16th century. I will tell you the relations of Java and its relations with the mother country, India. As I told you, Java appears already in the great epic Ramayana composed by Valmiki. The first mention of the cultural colony of Java has to a certain extent contributed to the name of Javanese language as Kori language.

"If I can imagine our vessels going from India, sailing towards the Eastern waters, what would have been the design on the flag that was unfurled on that Vessel? There was neither the bayonet nor the machine gun but there was that simple symbol of Peace "Maithri" and the figure "Sree." That is the theory. I can call it almost an accepted theory which helps us to understand a good deal of the line taken in this chapter of Indo-Javanese cultural history. Here, we do not find Indians conquering and subduing other people. Ships came from Bengal, Kalinga, and Nagapatam, for oceanic commerce.

The earliest inscriptions of Java were in South Indian Language. Purnavarma is compared in his qualities to Vishnu, "the conservor of this universe. The kings of those days aspired not to

the destructive qualities but to the constructive genius, constructive statesmanship and constructive culture.

Java provides matter for 12 lectures. There are many branches of Art developed in that wonderfully gifted people. We have noticed the primitives preparing the path of that cultural consummation. From the 4th century A. D., we find an uninterrupted line of Javanese kings. By culture, by religion and by art, they are Hindus. The word "Hindu" is used in its largest sense. With the narrow conception of history, we have come to define 'Hindu' as "Brahmanical." Hindu is a word full of profound significance established on the indelible foundation of geography. This name is derived from the great river "Sindhu" as shown by the inscriptions of the great Emperor Darius, Master of Asia right down to Sindhu Valley which has given those wonderful treasures pushing the Chronology to 3rd "Millennium" B. C. We find the word "Sindhu" in Vedas. The civilization of India is characterised as "Hindu" culture including Brahmanism, Buddhism, etc., This term "Hindu", I use, in the large connotation.

Great monarchs like Kurmvarma and Sreeviziam conquered Java. They give the epic Bharakuda, wonderful handiwork of Shavite sovereigns. North Central Java gives beautiful sculptures showing Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Buddhism, flourishing, side by side, in Java, which contribute their own to the Structure of civilisation. People continued their Vaishnavism and Saivism, though the Emperor adopted Buddhism. There was no persecution.

In the Pranchanam temple, we find Hindu Pantheon, Bhagavati, Siva, Vishnu etc. Slokas are to be found on the stones. There are marvellous Ramayana scenes. Java suffers from earthquakes and most temples have tumbled down. Javanese people have a different sort of Ramayana, because they put the broken things in the wrong places. The other side of the temple has tumbled down and we cannot make it out. The temple of Ankor Vat gives many evidences of Indian origin. Do not consider the Javane as mere borrowers from you. Just as we find political dynasties asserting themselves, so in art also, we find the indigenous Javanese technic asserting itself and the Indian element becoming lesser. This is the marvellous indication of the progressive Swaraj granted by our ancestors. They are no longer in the leading strings of their teachers from India. They built their temples. They projected on their walls the Wonderful Ramayana Scenes. They adopted also Krishnayana. Our Universities and learned bodies should wake up a little and continue the research.

Javanese have their indigenous plays. They have histrionic art with special emphasis to dancing.

From the time of the 13th century, Chinese influence on Java was apparant. We get Mongolian physiognomy and facial features.

With Islamic invasion, this civilisation collapsed which synchronised with the collapse of your Andhra-Vizianagaram Empire.

During these four or five hundred years, we find Javanese people progressing. They are Islamic in their faith. We find everywhere mosques; but, in their domestic habits, in their dress, in their art, in their recreations, there is still continuing the ancient Hindu tradition. I went to the Temple of Panathara, the most celebrated one and I found Indian art preponderating there. I visited the palace of the Sultan, where Gotar—the finest music, Sword-play dancing, and other parties are maintained by Muhammadan sultans. There was no Purdah, no Goshā. Inside this palace there is a marvellous figure of Beauty, 'Sree'. It is the master piece of Javanese art. It is a continuity of the bygone ages. This fragment of history is preserved in the Sultan's house. But, the glorious period of our art is still a sealed book to us in India. I am thankful to these brothers because they, in spite of many changes, maintain the Indian traditions; and the feeling of Hindu-Moslem unity is not simply a matter of journalistic propagandism but an actuality. Great lessons I have learnt from them. Then the lecturer showed the following slides:—

1. East Indies, Takkola in Malay Peninsula; 2. Sailēndras of Sumatra conquered Java in 8th C; 3. Polynesian race, Dayaks of Borneo with spears; 4. Yupa Inscription found in Borneo; 5. Two Dayak women and three modern women engaged in Silk Industry; 6. Madura Stone and wood carvings; 7. Grantha Inscriptions of Mantri Narotama of 7 C. A.D; 8. Cloth Painting in Bali with S. I. Inses. at bottom; 9. Siva; 10. Swarga; 11. Malay map of Polinesia; 12. Bharata Yuddha; 13. Lake of Batur; 14. N. Coast of Bali, port Singi Raja; 15. Two women of Bali; 16. Bhuddist Monastery; 17. Three rock cut temples in Bali (central); 18. Sempidi cave, near market place, turned into Temple; 19. Temple wall with Hindu figures, made by village artists, with Balinese jewels (Clay figure); Vishnu riding a Garuda with two attendants on either side, on a lion head; 21. 29 Bronze figures resembling S. Indian type; 22. Batavia metal Sanka, Chakra; 23. An upstairs thatched hut; 24. A tower temple; 25. Building of a temple in S. Bali, resembling a tent; 26. A lamp tower, wooden temples owing to volcano; 27. A Vishnu temple with Garuda; 28. Bandiar Hindu temple; 29. A gate way; 30. A torana of Soebak temple in N. Bali; 31. A stone temple with Indian art and Polynesian art; 32. Kinnarulu, tree of life, a lion; 33. A big Nandi with an Inscription; 34. A Brahmin in prayer with Rudraksha; 35. Poses of Prayers, fingers clasping in different ways, Nails long; 36. A Saiva Pandit sitting and offering worship; 37. Sacred water of oblation taken in a Srāddha ceremony; 38. Raja, Gurus and Brahmanas; 39. Coffin on Garuda, Vishnuloka; 40. Java musical tools, Saraṅga, Mrudanga etc; 41. A Dancing girl and A Bali Purohit with Rudraksha.

4. Research Work in Andhra Desa.

Under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Mr. Kalidas Nag, M. A., delivered the following lecture on "Research Work in Andhra Desa," at 8 a. m., on 5-11-1927. M. R. Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B. A., B. L., the President of the society presided.

Mr. President, Ladies and my friends of the Andhra Desa,

"The subject which you have given me for discussion is a subject which properly belongs to you. History is not simply the arrangement of chronological skeleton. The western research workers are building up history from a study of the inscriptions, legends, myths and sculpture. It is something quite natural to them. Ours is a country which forgot its Chandragupta and Asoka. So, there is a fundamental difference between the historic reconstruction of European countries and the historic reconstruction of the Asiatic countries. We must remember that we shall never be able to build up the history of India by a study of Chronological Data. China and Persia had a continuous series of kings reaching from the beginning of history. But in other countries this chronology is not the criterion of their culture. They preferred to write their history in the scale of eternity. Our Sastras and the Puranas are crowded with the names of Siva, Prajapathi, Brahma, etc. Entering into the psychology of our scholars of old, we find that they wanted to defy time. They dedicated their works to God. From the time of Rig Veda—the oldest book—down to the Puranas, there is a continuity and comprehensiveness. We have got to assert that our history is a big history. Indian history is considered to be a failure because there are gaps. Chronological kings are not the criterion of Indian history. The terms Purāṇa-śravana indicate that the people whether cultured or uncultured, are entitled to know their history. Manuscripts are being discovered in the corners of Kerala. Indian history is yet to be reconstructed and corroborated by gathering specimens of architecture, art, manuscripts, and inscriptions. These would contribute, block by block, to that wonderful reconstruction of Andhra history. We find Andhras in earliest times coming from the North-west, and mixing with the southerners. There was intellectual and spiritual intercourse between the two. Andhras occupied the marvellous strategic position of the meeting place of the north and the south.

In the 3rd century B. C. the position of the Andhras as you find in the inscriptions is wonderful. In the time of Asoka, Kalinga meant Andhradesa. Jainism whose fundamental significance is Ahimsa, non-violence and sanctity of life and Buddhism whose significance is Maithri, existed side by side in Kalinga.

The story of Asoka annihilating so many people in Kalinga made him think of the great crime he committed. Immediately he

proceeded to inscribe his crime in deathless characters. That was the effect of the political experiment of conquest. .

A century after Asoka, the Andhra country became the centre of great Buddhist Art. We find the flower of Buddhist art in Amaravati, Jaggayapet, etc. These certainly take you to the very early period. A few miles from Bezwada, there are wonderful monuments on either side of the river Krishna. These places of pilgrimage contain great history.

Cultural art is developed in our indigenous crafts, carpentry, goldsmithy, woodcraft, etc. These carpenter historians are entitled to our gratitude. We must save their handicraft. Their motives and symbols go back to far off antiquity.

The rituals and ceremonies observed by our women have got their Buddhist colouring. Buddhism was not expelled but assimilated.

The influence of Jainism is another source to be investigated. It had easy access to Kalinga and Andhra.

The legend of Budhagosha is a source of investigation. He was a Brahmin from northern India and passed through Andhra. While he was there, he was converted to Buddhism and he carried Buddhism to Ceylon. Ceylonese people took Scholars from Andhra country. There was intimate connection between Ceylon and Andhra.

The Andhra history is simply the history of India.

Andhras were pioneers to go to Burma. There are a series of chronicles to indicate the connection between Burma and Kalinga. Talang chronicles took the source from Kalinga. Andhras played a great part in the building of Greater India.

The President, in proposing a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer, stated that there are two ways into which Historical Research divided itself viz. chronological and cultural. Cultural history is the real history while chronological history is the skeleton. The path of chronology is very narrow. The path of culture is very wide. Unless the intellect and the imagination are disciplined, no connected history could be written.

With a vote of thanks to the president and to the learned lecturer, the meeting came to a close.

REVIEWS.

Mazumdar's memorable work on Orissa

By B. SINGH DEO ESQ., B. A.

"The book 'Orissa in the making' by Prof. Bijaychandra Mazumdar of Calcutta published in October 1925 by the Calcutta University, incidentally, however, makes an attempt to give a connected history of Kalinga so far as it is available. But the whole narrative is so full of preposterous hypotheses based on sad misconceptions and preconceived notions that it is almost impossible to rely on its conclusions in any historical discourse on the subject. It does moreover reveal that historians like Mr. Mazumdar can easily make out grounds for their own misconceptions to hand them down as historical facts and truths."

Such are the certificates granted by the learned Scholars in the estimation of Mr. Mazumdar's work on the holy land of Orissa. Mr. R. D. Banerjee goes further and calls it a 'Rajaprasasti' like Harshacharita of Bana. Whatever it may be, in this paper I like to give some instances of his 'preposterous hypotheses', 'sad misconceptions' and 'preconceived notions' which cannot but startle and puzzle a historian engaged in Research work.

In "Orissa in the Making" Mr. B. C. Mazumdar asserts that the sea-board tracts of Orissa formed a part of Trikalanga country while the high lands lying to the west of the districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore formed the Odra and the Utkala country separately in ancient times. This assertion is wholly untenable, for Pandit Binayaka Misra in his article on the Area of Orissa in Huen Tsang's time published in the Journal. B. & O. R. Society, March 27, proves beyond doubt that the Utkala country extended from Midnapur in the north up to the Ganjam in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east up to Sambalpur in the west. Another article on the Trikalanga country written by the same scholar and published in the J.B.O.R.S. June 1927, solves the problem regarding the situation of the Trikalanga country. On Epigraphical evidences it is stated in it that the three countries, Utkala, Kangoda and Kalinga formed together the Trikalanga country. Pandit Binayaka Misra reasonably identified the ancient Kangoda country with the district of Ganjam while in the opinion of the author of "Orissa in the making" the district of Puri is to be identified with the ancient Kangoda country. It may, therefore be said that 'Orissa in the Making' is replete with errors.

It is stated in the article on the Utkala and Odra tribes published in the *Calcutta Review* March 27, that Utkalas and Odras are one and the same tribe and they are to be identified with Oda-chasas of Orissa. This statement is based on the facts, mentioned in the epigraphic records. But Mr. Mazumdar identifies the Utkalas with Bhunyas, because the mention of Utkala Bassa Bhunyas is found in the *Majhīm-Nikaya*. The "Bhunyas of the Utkala country" this expression clearly indicates that the Utkalas and the Bhunyas are two different tribes.

Col. Girine has said in his work entitled *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* that the Utkalas and Sabaras migrated together from Orissa and settled in Burma. But Mr. Mazumdar intentionally gives an illusory interpretation of Col. Girine's statement that the people of old Kalinga despised the people of Utkala as barbarous. The people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma—a hilly tract of land lying to the west of Mudu-Kalinga in farther India, was given the name Ukkal or rather Utkala to signify the rude character of that land." (Vide Orissa in the Making pp. 17-18). Col. Girine has never made such statement. The author of Orissa in the Making has attempted to put the Oriya nation in a degraded position.

"The description of the victorious campaign of Raghu in the 4th canto of *Raghu Vamsā* by Kalidas, makes it almost certain that even in the 5th century A.D., the Utkalas continued to be as rude as before, and had no organised Government of their own, since the soldiers of Raghu had no need to conquer the country of the Utkalas," (P. 22) "I have already shown in the days of the poet Kalidas—Orissa did not come into existence as a country." (pp. 42-43).

From the above statement of the author it is evident that the fact recorded in the Tibetan chronicle in connection with the conversion of the King of Orissa into Buddhism in the second century A.D., carries no weight. But if there was no organised Government in Orissa in the fifth century A.D., how could the art and architecture develop in Orissa in the fifth century A.D.? The author should have studied the art and architecture of Orissa before he commenced to write the history of Orissa. Again the author has not taken into his consideration the Patikela Copper plate record of the fifth century (edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *Epigraphica Indica*) which reflects the civilization of Orissa in the fifth century A.D. Mr. Mazumdar tells us that neither Magadhi speech nor Magadhi script was in use in Orissa during the seventh century A.D. But Hiuen Tsang says 'the people of Ucha love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission.' The people of Non-Aryan tongue can never love learning. Again a good number of inscriptions found in Orissa make it certain, that Magadhi speech and Magadhi script were in use in

Orissa before the seventh century A. D. The author has not consulted these inscriptions.

It is a matter of great surprise that the author without studying the copper plate records of Kara dynasty of Orissa published by various scholars in various Journals, has desperately attempted to deal with the history of Orissa.

It is also evident that a good number of copper plates of Sulki family discovered in Orissa have not been taken into the notice of the author. These records reveal important historical facts.

In the opinion of the author the old civilization of Orissa was washed away and the new civilization was introduced by the Kosala Guptas or in other words by the Rajas of Sonpur. This is nothing but mere eulogy. Had Mr. Mazumdar noticed the plate of Subhankara Deo (edited by R. D. Banerji) of the eighth century A. D., he would not have said that the old civilization of Orissa was destroyed. That the fact recorded in the Japanese Tripitaka that Baudhabatansaka Sutra was presented to the Chinese Emperor by Subhankara Kesari the King of Orissa during the eighth century A. D., is corroborated by this plate.

The author has said that the Bengali Kayasthas were appointed in the service of Kosala Guptas and they brought the Magadhi speech and Magadhi script, then prevalent in Bengal, into use in Orissa. The titles such as Ghosh and Datta (p. 185) found in the records of the Gupta dynasty of Orissa has led the author to this supposition. The author should bear in mind that in ancient time the people having the surnames Datta and Ghosh were prevalent in every part of the Northern India. In the Natya sastra it is mentioned that a person having Datta title should be taken as a tradesman. We also notice in the copper plate records of western India that some tribes of some copper plate records had the Ghosh title. The author being an anthropologist makes wonderful research. If on the similarity of the title, two different peoples are supposed to have originally been one and the same people, then the Raj Family of Sonpur may be supposed to have originally belonged to Non-Aryan tribe because the title Singh, used by the Raj Family of Sonpur, are in use among the Kandhas, Bhunyas and Ladhas.

Prachina Hindudesa Rajyamga Charitra

(By KONA VENKATARAYA SARMA.)

This is a Telugu work of 110 pages priced at 12 As, and it describes the governance of Ancient India. It has eight chapters dealing with Village Administration, Work of Government, Ministers, Condition of Army, Civilisation, Finance, King and Assemblies. The author studied vast literature on the subject and wrote a very useful book. From the Vedic times to the Mauryan times, the village organisation and in particular, the powers and duties of the "Grāmaṇi" and the "Prajā" have been given in detail from the original sources. The title of the second chapter 'the Work of Government' is rather misleading. He has described the public works undertaken by Kings such as the construction of towns, forts, temples, caves, tanks, roads, navy etc. The author has also given an account of the work of Vizianagar and Mughal rulers which he could have omitted in this work dealing with Ancient India. In the chapter on "Ministers", the author has devoted much attention to the work of ministers in the prechristian times and his omission to deal with the post-christian period is unfortunate, especially when there is plenty of material available now. The chapters on "Army" and "Civilisation" are really interesting, and the author deserves praise.

For the chapters dealing with "Prabhutvādāyam", Rāju and Śasana Sabhalu, the paper used is inferior and the work deals only with prechristian period. It is not known why he omitted to describe the "Uttaramallur" Inscription and the interesting light it throws on the working of the Ancient Village Administration. But, on the whole, the work shows a studious attention to details and the author is to be congratulated on the same.

R. S. R.

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Rani Sri Rao Ramayamma Rao Bahadur Varu, } Zamindarini of Veeravaram and Kolanka Estates.}	Rs. 300
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	Rs.
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Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State	6 0
Royal Asiatic Society, London	9 4
	51 6

**(3) Donations received during the quarter ending
with 31-3-28.**

Maharaja Sri Ramachendra Dev Bahadur Varu, } Maharaja of Jeypore.	Rs. 300
<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>Rs. 645 2</i>

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the Seventh Annual General Body Meeting of the Society.

The meeting was held in the Society's Hall, Kaky Upstairs, Innespeta, at 7 A.M., on Saturday, 7th April 1928.

M. R. Ry. Jayanty Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., the President of the Society, presided on the occasion. Before the proceedings commenced, the President was "At Home" to all the members.

The following members were present.

Messrs.

1. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
2. N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L.
3. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.
4. S. Kameswararao, M.A., L.T.
5. Mrs. Y. V. Ranganayakamma,
B.A., L.T.
6. Miss R. Krishnabai, B.A., L.T.
7. M. Nissanka Bahadur.
8. T. Suryanarayanamurthi.
9. K. Suryanarayana.
10. P. Gnanaprakasam.
11. O. Subbarao B.A., B.L.
12. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T.
13. A. Hanumanta Sastri, M. A.

Messrs.

14. Mir Akram Ali, B.A., B.L.
15. V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A. L.T.
16. M. K. Sreenivasa Raghava-
chari, M.A., L.T.
17. B. Sambasivarao.
18. D. Venkatrao, M.A., L.T.
19. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A., B.L.
20. A. Sankararao, B.A., L.T.
21. M. Subbarao.
22. M. Subbarayudu, B.A. L.T.
23. R. Subbarao, B.A., B.L.
24. V. Purnayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
25. S. Bhimasankararao, B.A.
26. N. Krishnarao.

The president in opening the proceedings of the meeting called upon the Joint Secretaries to read the Annual report. The Joint Secretary, Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., then read the following Seventh Annual report. (Printed elsewhere) After it was adopted, the Treasurer, Mr. N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L., presented the accounts which were approved. The report of the Library Committee presented by Mr. N. Kameswararao, the Librarian, was next read and passed. (Vide the financial accounts and library report printed elsewhere).

The following resolution was then passed.

- (1) "Resolved that the Maharaja of Jeypore, Sree Raja Ramachandradeo Bahadur Varu, be elected as Patron of the Society."

The following amendments to rules were then moved and adopted:—

Mr. C. Atmaram B.A.B.L. moved that there shall be "a General Secretary and a Joint Secretary" instead of "two Joint Secretaries" and that the Joint Secretary should work under the General Secretary. Mr. R. Subbarao B.A., B.L., moved an amendment that the existing rule should be retained and that the powers of the Joint Secretaries be

defined. Mr. S. Bhimasankararao B.A. moved the amendment that there should be "A Secretary" instead of "two Joint Secretaries". This latter amendment, being accepted by Mr. C. Atmaram, the original proposition as amended was finally carried, Mr. Subbarao's amendment falling to the ground. Next, it was resolved that the wording of the other rules should be altered according to the above resolution.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., then moved the following amendments to the rules which were accepted.

- (a) (Rule 4) Insert "5. Hony. Correspondents" after "4. Hony. Vice-Presidents" and number; Omit "and" before Treasurer and add "and Librarian" after it.
- (b) (Rule 11) Omit the words "and thence-forward on or before 31st March of each year".
- (c) (Rule 14, clause 2) Add the words "and Reading-Room" after "Library".
- (d) (Rule 16) Substitute the words "first week of April" for "month of March".
- (e) (Rule 27) Substitute the word "election" for "1st April".
- (f) (Rule 29) Omit 1 and renumber. Omit the word "private" in No. 3.
- (g) (Rule 30) Substitute the words "first week of April" for the words "month of March".

The following Office-Bearers were next elected for the new year 1928-1929:—

Messrs.

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., President. | |
| 2. S. Bhimasankararao, B.A., Vice-president. | |
| 3. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., Secretary. | |
| 4. N. Kameswararao, B.A., B.L., Treasurer. | |
| 5. A. Sankararao, B.A., L.T., Librarian. | |
| 6. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L. | } Council Members. |
| 7. C. Veerabhadrarao. | |
| 8. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A., B.L. | |
| 9. N. K. Venkatesam, M.A., L.T. | |

With this, the business of the society was over. The President in reviewing the work of the Society during the year 1927-28, stated as follows:—The Society has done very good work during the year. We are brought into contact with several Research Journals, learned Societies, and Scholars and that provided encouragement for the workers to do still better work. The Society owed its present flourishing condition to the enthusiasm of a few friends who have worked hard to improve it. It is very creditable that this city should have such a society in Andhra Desa. I thank the members of the Society for again electing me as the President. I have devoted my whole life for

research work.* There are more than 2000/- inscriptions found in the Telugu country only, which have to be edited by me with the help of this Society and I undertook the work more as the President of this Society. May I suggest that members of the Society should follow up the research work begun already and tackle problems like the relations between the Nagas and the Andhras and other allied subjects.

In the evening, a public meeting was held in the Hindu Samaj Hall at 5 P.M., with the President of the Society in the chair. It was largely attended both by the members of the society and the public. The following papers which will be published in the Society's Journal were read:—

1. The debt of Dravidian Languages to Prakrit
By Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.
2. Muhamadans and Telugu Literature
By Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.
3. Evolution of Brahmanical Hierarchy
By Mr. S. Bhima Sankara Rao, B.A.
4. A new Copper Plate Grant of Anapôtu.
By Mr. T. Suryanarayanamurty.
5. Two new C. P. Grants of Eastern Chalukyan Kings.
By Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

With a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting came to a close.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry for the year 1927-1928.

The Joint Secretary of the Society, Mr. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T. read the following report:—

The Council of the Society have great pleasure in presenting the following report of the Society's work during the year 1927-28.

At the last Annual Meeting held on 17-4-1927, Office bearers as well as Hon. Presidents and Vice-Presidents for the new year were elected. It was also resolved that steps should be taken by the Council to open a Reading Room and Library for the benefit of the members.

During the year, the Rajah Saheb of Kallikota and Attagada, the Rajah Saheb of Chikati and the Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore were graciously pleased to give their consent to be the Patrons of the Society and so, the Council of the Society elected them as Patrons. Also, Rao Bahadur Sir B. N. Sarma, K.C.S.I. and Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., were elected as Hon. Presidents of the Society.

Further, the Society resolved to elect Hon. Correspondents and a Librarian and so, Messrs. R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar M. A., Asst. Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, P. V. Jagadisa Iyer, Asst. Epigraphist, Madras, M. Ramakrishnakavi M. A., and

K. Gopalakrishnamma M.A. (Both of Rajahmundry) were elected as Hon. Correspondents. M. R. Ry. N. Kameswararao Garu, B. A., B. L., was elected as Hon. Librarian of the Society.

Members.

The number of ordinary members on 1-4-1928 stands at 197 as compared with 150 on 31-3-1927. This steady increase is really encouraging and shows the great popularity of our Society. The number of resident members rose from 56 to 60. It is however a matter of some regret that there are no Life members in the Society and the Council hopes that in the years to come, several members will unroll themselves as such. The council also requests all members (Resident and Mofussil) to bring into the Society more of their friends as members.

Subscriptions.

Another gratifying feature is the increasing number of subscribers to the Journal. As compared with the number of 19 subscribers (Indian and Foreign) on rolls on 31-3-1927, there are at present 25 subscribers. The Director of Public Instruction has been pleased to subscribe for the Journals which are now supplied to the First Grade Colleges at Madras, Anantapur and Rajahmundry only. It is earnestly hoped that the use of the Research Journal will be extended to other Colleges also under Government control.

Exchanges.

At the time of the last annual meeting, only 35 different learned societies and individuals of this and other countries, were giving their journals and books in exchange of our Society's journal. At present, the list of exchanges has increased from 35 to 55 and this increase shows, in the opinion of the Council, that the work of the Society is widely appreciated.

Journal.

The publication of the journal is being continued regularly by the Society under the Editorship of M. R. Ry. C. Atmaram Garu, B.A., B.L., who is sparing no pains to make it upto date and useful. During the year, three numbers viz., Vol. I Part 4, Vol. 2 Part I and Part II have been published so far, and Parts 3 and 4 of Vol 2 are now under print and will issue soon. The Journal has elicited favourable opinions at the hands of scholars like Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, Dr. S. K. Iyengar M.A., Editor, Journal of Indian History, K. P. Jayaswal Esq., M.A., Editor B. O. R. S. Journal. Its contents have also been noticed in several journals.

Owing to the increased number of members and subscribers and also owing to the generous donations given by the Patrons of the Society, it has now become possible to improve the quality of the journal. Unpublished copper plate and stone inscriptions are being published at great expense. Also, unpublished Sanskrit Dramas

bearing on the Ancient History and Civilisation of the country are being printed at additional cost. The council takes this opportunity to place on record its cordial thanks to the members of the Editorial Board who have spared no pains to improve the journal with regard to both the size and quality.

Kalinga Sanchika.

At the time of the last annual meeting, it was settled that the Kalinga day should be celebrated in April 1927 and that the History of Kalinga Desa should be published soon. The Editor of the book, M. R. Ry. R. Subbarao Garu, M.A., L.T., at the request of the council, interviewed the Rajah Saheb of Parlakimidi, at Parlakimidi along with Messrs. Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu B.A., and I. Kanakachallam Pantulu, M.A., L.T., and settled that the Kalinga conference should be held during the middle of June 1927. Accordingly, the Kalinga day was celebrated at Mukhalingam, Ganjam Dt., on 16th 17th and 18th June, 1927. Several scholars from all parts of the country attended and read original papers relating to the social, religious, literary and historical matters of Kalinga Desa. The details of the conference were printed in Vol. II part I, pages 67-73. The book is now under print and it is hoped that it will be published by the end of summer.

Meetings and other Activities.

During the year 1927-1928, the Society held one General body meeting at the end of the first quarter on 27-8-1927 with M. R. Ry., G. Gangadhara Somayazulu Garu, M.A., B.L., who succeeded Mr. D. S. Reddi B.A. (oxon) as Vice-President of the Society, in the chair, to elect Patrons, Hon. Presidents, Hon. Correspondents and Hon. Librarian and to amend certain rules. The society had also 15 Managing Council meetings which were held for the purpose of admitting new members and new exchanges, and for electing Patrons, passing accounts and transacting all other work of the society.

The society also held four Public Meetings. The first meeting was held on 2-5-1927 to celebrate the Sivaji Tercentenary. Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao and C. V. Hanumantarao B.A., described the part played by Shivaji in the formation of Maharatta Empire. The second meeting was held on 31-7-1927, when Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao and R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., read original papers on "The Brahmanical Dynasties that ruled over Andhra Desa" and "The Chronology of the Eastern Gāṅgās" respectively. The third meeting was held on 6-11-1927, when Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University gave a very interesting lecture on "The part played by Andhras in the Development of Greater India". The fourth meeting was held on 8-12-1927 when Prof. Radhakrishnan M.A., of the Calcutta University delivered a very instructive lecture on "Hindu Culture and Civilisation"

During the year, the Andhra University authorities requested our Society to organise the first University Lectures known as 'Sir R. Venkataratnam' Lectures which were delivered by Dr. K. Nag, M.A., D.Litt., of Calcutta. Three lectures were delivered in all and the meetings were very successfully arranged by the Society in the Veeresalingam High School Hall. Over 500 ladies and gentlemen, Indian and European including mostly College Students, attended the lectures which were illustrated by Magic Lantern.

Library and Reading room.

During the year, the council purchased a few more books for the library, but for want of funds, it has not yet become possible to have a good research library. This want is very keenly felt by all the members. The council in its meeting held on 7-7-1927 resolved to start a Reading room and Library. Accordingly, a spacious room in the Kaky upstairs, Main road, has been taken for rent and furniture, costing about Rs. 150/- was also purchased. The reading room was opened by Dr. K. Nag on 5-11-1927. A peon on Rs. 10/- per month has been engaged and the opening of the Reading room has enabled the members to make use of the Library books and journals received. The Reading room and Library have also been thrown open to the use of the public, since last January and the council notes with pleasure that the public are attending to make use of the journals and books. The Council places on record its grateful thanks to all those gentlemen who presented books or other materials to the Society. A full list of books, journals, or research materials, purchased or presented, is shown in the Library report.

Research Museum.

During the year, the Joint Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao M.A.L.T. collected several rare Andhra coins, 3 sets of unpublished copper-plates and other materials which may well form the nucleus of the Society's Museum. The council requests all members and sympathisers to be so good as to present to the Society copper-plate or stone inscriptions and coins, manuscripts, and other research materials, so that there may be a well equipped museum at an early date.

Finance.

A detailed statement of the Society's financial position is given by the Treasurer. The accounts have been audited by Mr. A. Sankararao B.A., L.T., to whom our thanks are due. The council requests all those members, who are still in arrears, to pay up their amounts soon, so that the work of the society may not suffer for lack of funds.

Conclusion.

The council places on record, its cordial thanks to the several Donors who helped the Society and to the several Office-bearers, who worked hard to improve the condition of the Society.

The following is the Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 1-4-1927 to 31-3-1928.

Receipts.	Rs.	A.	P.	Expenditure.	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Last Year's Balance.	360	14	0	Postage.	165	8	9
2. Subscriptions from members and subscribers to Journal.	781	2	0	Travelling expenses.	92	11	6
3. Donations.	1085	0	0	Printing charges.	968	10	3
4. Sale of Journals and Reprints.	14	2	0	Kalingaday Expense	70	0	0
5. Sale of Rajaraja Sanchikas.	74	7	6	Charges for making blocks.	331	15	6
6. Interest on Savings Bank Account.	0	13	7	Photographs.	53	14	0
				Furniture.	139	4	0
				Peon's pay.	92	8	3
				Purchase of books.	41	14	6
				Advance returned to Treasurer.	100	0	0
				Permanent Advance to Secretaries and Editor for postage and sundry expenses.	30	14	0
				Typing charges.	16	0	0
				Stationery.	4	8	3
				Miscellaneous charges.	26	4	6
				S. B. Account.	156	5	7
				Balance on hand.	26	0	0
Total Rs.	2316	7	1	Total Rs.	2316	7	1

N. B:—In the last year's statement of the Treasurer, the number of unbound volumes of Raja Raja Sanchika was given by mistake as 274 instead of 174. So, the total number of volumes (Bound and Unbound) on hand then was 179. The 174 volumes have been bound during the year. 17 copies have been sold, for 3 of which money has yet to be realised and 11 copies are given free, leaving a balance of 151 volumes on hand.

The Society has to realise Rs. 76/- from Resident members and Rs. 118/- from Non-resident members, as subscription, Rs. 5/- as donation, and Rs. 31-11-6 from foreign subscribers. Besides, the Society has to realise Rs. 810/- towards donations promised on Kalinga Day.

A. Sankarao, B.A., L.T.,

N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.,

Auditor.

Treasurer.

Report presented by the Library Committee.

The Librarian, Mr. N. Kameswa Rao, B. A., B. L., read the following report:—

As stated in the Sixth Annual Report of the Society dated 17th April 1927, several journals and publications are received in exchange from different societies. The Library consists of a modest collection of books purchased or presented to the Society or received in exchange. We are glad to state that the number of exchanges has risen from 39 to 55, two having been removed from the list, as no publications in exchange have been received from them. A sum of Rs. 41-14-6 only has been invested in the purchase of books, during the year under report. A list of books purchased, presented or received in exchange and a list of journals received in exchange are given separately. There is a small collection of Research materials consisting of three sets of copper plates and one stone inscription, a palmyra leaf Mss., and old Andhra coins presented by members which, may we hope, in the fullness of time, would, with the hearty cooperation of members, grow into a fine Research library and Museum in this part of the country. The question of making all journals, books and other materials easily accessible to members has engaged the earnest attention of the Council and so it has resolved at its meeting held on 7-7-1927 to start a Library and Reading room. At its meeting held on 31-8-1927, Mr. N. Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L., was appointed as the Librarian and a library committee consisting of the Librarian and Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao B. A. B. L. and R. Subbarao, M. A., L. T., was formed to look after the affairs of the library and to frame rules for its working. Accordingly, rules were framed by the said committee and adopted by the Council on 30-10-1927. The Council also resolved on 18-10-27 to take a suitable room in Kaky Krishnamurthy's upstairs on the main road at a rent of Rs. 8/- per mensem and locate the Library and Reading Room therein from 1-11-1927 and it is a matter for gratification that the Reading room and Library were opened by Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University, when he came here to deliver the Andhra University lectures, in the first week of November last. In connection with the Reading room the Society had to spend Rs. 130/- for furniture consisting of an almyrah, two tables, two benches and ten chairs and Rs. 5/- for lights. The Managing council had to increase the pay of the peon from Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/- per mensem owing to the increased work due to the opening of the Reading room. Thus, the Society has to meet with a non recurring expenditure of about Rs. 140/- and a recurring annual expenditure of about Rs. 130/- for room rent, extra pay for peon and lighting charges. This is exclusive of the amount that will have to be spent for binding the several books and journals and for other

incidental expenses. This work has been postponed to the next year as a large sum has been spent for buying furniture this year. Some amount will have to be provided also for such items as, calico bound covers for current journals placed on the table, paper weights, table cloth and framing of photos of historical interest lying with us. A time piece, not to speak of a clock, would be a welcome addition to the Reading room and Library.

It is satisfactory to note that during the short period of five months the Reading Room and Library have been in existence, about four hundred non-members on the whole visited the room and read the books and journals. As the Reading room is open to the public, it will attract a still larger number of people if some Dailies, English and Telugu are placed on the table. We hope to do this shortly as some members have kindly promised to give them free to the Reading Room.

We cannot close this report without mentioning the fact that we applied to the Government and the Local Municipal Council and the District Board, East Godavari to give us a library grant so that we may maintain the library and reading room without much strain on our slender resources. We regret to state that so far our efforts have not met with success. We hope to succeed ere long in our efforts to place the Library and the Reading room on a more stable footing with the hearty cooperation and help of the members and the outside public. May we take this opportunity to appeal to our Hon. Presidents also to render aid to the society.

**List of Books and Research materials presented
during the year 1927-28.**

1. Bulletin Dela Maison Franco-Japanaise.
2. La Politique De Dupleix, by Mons. A. Martineau.
3. Prāchīna Hindu Desa Rajyāṅga Charitra, by Mr. K. V. Sarma.
4. Trois Conferences Sur L'Armenie. [rao.]
5. Veerabhadra Rao's History of Andhras 2 Vols.; by Mr. V. Appa-
6. Prachīna Haindava Praja Svāmika Prabhutvamu,
by Mr. D. L. Narasimham.
7. Andhra Gadya Vaṅgmaya Charitra Vol. I,
by Mr. G. V. Raghava Rao.
8. Andhra Vachana Bharatam, by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam.
9. Zoroaster, His life and Times, by Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao.
10. Disputations on Village Business, } by Mr. J. Ganganna.
11. Ancient India, }
12. Koran Sheriff, by Mr. V. Appa Rao.
13. The Buddhist Review (31 Journals), by Buddhist Society, London.
14. Basava Purāṇam, by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastry.
15. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vizianagar Vol. I,
By Messrs B. G. Paul & Co.
16. A brief Account of Nagari Pracharini Sabha's activity.
17. Catalogue of Gautami Library.
18. Do. of Madras Govt. Publications.
19. Do. of Society, Pondichery.
20. Do. of Oriental Manuscripts.
21. Ugadi Sanchika Annual for 1927.
22. Suryarāya Andhra Nighantu (Sample copy). [rao.]
23. Some more Andhra Coins and Mughol Coins, by Mr. R. Subba-
24. Two sets of Copper plate Inscs., by Mr. V. Neeladri Raju.
25. One Copper Plate Inscription, by Mr. K. Sambamurty Sastry.

Books Purchased during the year 1927-1928.

1. Mahabharata Adiparva, Fas. I.
2. A few Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

(1) Total List of Subscribers to the Journal for 1927-28

1. Librarian, Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.
2. Do. University Library, Madras.
3. Do. University Library, Decca.
4. Do. Imperial Library, Calcutta.
5. Registrar, Andhra University, Bezwada.
6. Director of Information, Secretariat, Bombay.
7. Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
8. President, Carnatic Historical Association, Darwar.
9. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.
10. Do. Gwalior State.
11. Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
12. Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
13. Do. Presidency College, Madras.
14. Do. C. D. College, Anantapur.
15. Do. Presidency College, Calcutta.
16. Do. Mayo College, Ajmere.
17. Do. Sanskrit College, Benares.
18. Do. A. E. L. M. College, Guntur.
19. Do. Noble College, Masulipatam.
20. Do. P. R. College, Cocanada.
21. Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara, Ajmere.
22. Rev. Prof. C. Theodore Banze, Philadelphia U. S. A.
23. Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russel St., London W. 1.
24. Do. Do.

(2) Total List of Members in the Society during 1927-28.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
1	Āchuta Rao T., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	14- 2-26	Head Master, Govt. Tg. School Rajmundry
2	Anantagiri Rao M., B.A.,B.L.	Dt. Munsiff	25- 9-27	District Munsiff, Madura.
3	Akram Ali Mir, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	30-11-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
4	Anantarama Iyer P. H., M.A.	Teacher	27-10-26	Lecturer, P. R. Collégé, Coconada.
5	Appa Rao D., Bar-at-Law.	Dy. Registrar	2-12-26	Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Appa Rao Vaddadi, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	9- 5-26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
7	Appa Rao Vissa, M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	14- 2-26	Prof. of Physics, Presy. College, Madras.
8	Appa Rao Koka, B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	High Court Vakil, Berhampore.
9	Atmaram C., B.A.,B.L.	Do.	14- 2-26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
10	Bapiraju Adivi, B.A.	Journalist	9- 5-26	Ast. Editor 'Triveni', Egmore, Madras.
11	Rev. W. T. Benze.	Missionary	13-11-27	Riverdale, Rajahmundry.
12	Bhadrayya L. V., B.A.	Pleader		Pleader, Ellore.
13	Bhadrayya P., M.A.,L.T.	Teacher	27- 1-27	Lecturer in Hist., Arts College, Rajmundry
14	Bhagavatam Gupta T., B.A.,B.L.	Dy. Collector	27-10-26	Dy. Collector, Madras.
15	Bhandarkar D. R.	Professor	10-12-26	35, Bally Gunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
16	Bhimasankara Rao S., B.A.	Pleader	14- 2-26	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
17	Bhimasena Rao C., B.A.,L.T.	Teacher	23- 2-27	Lecturer, P. R. College, Coconada.
18	Bhujanga Rao T., M.A.,B.L.	Sub Judge	6- 1-27	Principal Sub Judge, Masulipatam.
19	Brahmanandamurti Ch., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
20	Brierley W. B.	Principal	10-12-26	Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
21	Dhanaraju T., B.A.,B.L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Vakil. District Court, Do.
22	Dharma Rao G., M.A.	Teacher	23- 2-27	Eng. Lecturer, Kallikota Coll. Berhampore.
23	Dubrieul G. J.	Professor	31 3-27	Pondicherry.

24	Eswara Dutt K.	Auditor	9-5-26	Chatrapur.
25	Gangadhara Somayazulu G., M.A., B.L.		6-1-27	Retired District Judge, Rajahmundry.
26	Ganganna J., B.A., L.T.	Teacher		Head Master, V. H. Sch., Rajahmundry.
27	Gangaraju Gandrapu.	Inamdar	10-12-26	Polavaram.
28	Gangooly T.		23-1-28	35, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
29	Gauripati Rao I., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	9-5-26	Head Master, High School, Tuni.
30	Gnanaprakasam P.		30-11-27	Mission Reading Room, Rajahmundry.
31	Gopala Krishnayya V.	Inamdar	18-10-27	Satenapalle, Guntur District.
32	Gopalani P. V. S.	Pleader	1-4-28	Amalapuram.
33	Govindarajulu Ch., B.A.		18-10-27	Revenue Inespector, Nellore District.
34	Graeffe Rev. J. E.	Missionary	13-11-27	Luthergiri, Rajahmundry.
35	Hanumanta Rao S., M.A.	Teacher	9-5-26	Professor, Osmania College, Hyderabad.
36	Hanumanta Rao C. V., B.A.	Do.	Do.	Teacher, Hindu H. School, Masulipatam.
37	Hanumath Sastri A., M.A.	Do.	13-11-27	Guntur.
38	Harischandra Padhe B.C.E.	Engineer	7-7-27	Assistant Engineer, Chicacole.
39	Herras Henry S. J., M.A.	Teacher	10-12-26	Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
40	Hume Sastri Burra, B.A., B.L.	Vakil	7-7-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Vizagpatam.
41	Jaganadha Rao N., B.A.	Pleader	21-7-25	Narasarowpeta.
42	Jaganadha Rao V., M.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Lecturer in History, Arts College, Rjy.
43	Jaganadhaswami G., M.A., L.T.	Do.		Head Master, P. R. College, Coconada.
44	Jaganadhaswami P., M.A., L.T.,	Do.	17-5-27	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
45	Jagapati Varma V.	Inamdar	27-10-26	Proprietor 'Andhra Rashtram', Rajmundry.
46	Joganna U., B.A., M.L.	Vakil	Do.	Vakil, Coconada.
47	Jogiah Pantulu V. V., M.L.A.	Do.	17-5-27	Member Legislative Assembly, Berhampore
48	Kameswara Rao D. Ch.	Inamdar	5-9-26	Rajahmundry.
49	Kameswara Rao N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	9-5-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
50	Kameswara Rao S., B.A., B.L.	Do.	10-12-26	Do.
51	Kameswara Rao S., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	27-1-25	Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.

Serial No.	Name of member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
52	Kameswara Sastri Bh.	Pandit	14-11-25	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
53	Kanakachelam I, M.A., L.T.	Teacher		Head Master, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
54	Kesavaramamurti K., B.A.	Merchant		Coonada.
55	Krishnamachari M., M.A., M.L.	Dt. Munsif.	27- 1-26	District Munsiff, Chingelput.
56	Kali Das Nag., Dr. M.A.	Professor		University Professor, Calcutta.
57	Krishna Rao Nalam.	Merchant		Rajahmundry.
58	Miss Krishna Bai R. S., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	27-10-26	Govt. Girls' H. School, Rajahmundry.
59	Krishna Rao Bhonsle R., M.R., A.S.			Sey. to Commissioner Govt. Exs., Madras.
60	Krishnaswami Rao C., B.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Seeta Park, Basavangudu, Bangalore City.
61	Kurma Rao Tata, M.A., L.T.	Do.	6- 1-27	Lecturer, Govt. Trg. School, Chicacole.
62	Lakshman Rao K., B.C.E.	Engineer	30-11-24	Supervisor, D.P.W. Ammapet Tanjore Dt.
63	Lakshmana Reddi G.	Pleader	6- 1-27	President, Taluq Board, Gooty.
64	Lakshminarayana Sastri B. H.		14- 2-26	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Ramachendrapur.
65	Lakshminarayana Sastri C.	Vakil	12- 3-38	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.
66	Linganna P.	Teacher	21- 7-25	Teacher, High School, Chicacole.
67	Mallikarjuna Rao Pandiri	Journalist		Editor 'Subhashi', Rajahmundry.
68	Nagabhushanam S., BA., L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Teacher, Govt. Tg. College, Rajahmundry.
69	Nageswara Rao B., B.A., L.T.	Do.	17- 5-27	Teacher, Surangi High School, Ichapur.
70	Narsinga Rao G., B.A., L.T.	Do.	30- 4-27	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
71	Narsinga Rao V., B.A.	Do.	1- 4-28	First Assistant, High School, Pithapuram.
72	Narasimham D. L., M.A., L.T.	Do.		Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
73	Narasimha Iyengar S., M.A., L.T.	Do.	27-10-26	Do.
74	Narsimha Rao S., M.A., L.B.	Dy. Collector	9- 5-25	Dy. Collector, Atmakur, Nellore Dist.
75	Narasimhulu M.	Inamdar	10-12-36	Arasavilli, Via, Chicacole.
76	Narayana Rao C., M.A., L.T.	Teacher		Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.

77	Neudoerffer A. F. A.	Missionary	14- 2-26	A. E. L. Mission, Rajahmundry.
78	Nilakanta Das, M.A.		25- 9-27	M. L. A., Sachi Gopal.
79	Parameswara Rao Y., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Rajahmundry.
80	Pattabhiramiah T., B.A., B.L.	Do.	17- 5-27	Govt. Pleader, Berhampore.
81	Peri Sastry S., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	19- 3-25	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Tanuku.
82	Pitchaya V., B.A.	Pleader	6- 1-27	Pleader Cuddapah.
83	Prakasa Rao, D. V. S., B.A.		27-10-25	Cocanada.
84	Purniah Pantulu Vepa, B.A., B.L.	Sub Judge	30- 4-27	Sub Judge, Rajahmundry.
85	Purushottam Sonti, M.A.	Teacher		Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram.
86	Radhakrishnan S., M.A.	Do.		President, Post Graduate Dept., Calcutta.
87	Raghavachari M. N., B.A.	Student		B. Ed. Student, Rajahmundry.
88	Raghava Rao G. V., B.A.	Pleader	30-11-24	Pleader, Yellamanchili Vizag Dt.
89	Raghavendra Rao P., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	27- 1-25	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Masulipatam.
90	Rajagopalachari P., B.A., B.L.		31- 8-27	District Munsiff, Rajahmundry.
91	Rajarajeswara Nisanka Bahadur.	Dt. Munsiff		Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
92	Rajaratnam K., B.A.	Student	10-12-26	Dt. Labour Officer, E. Godavari, Cocanada.
93	Ramachendra Rao B., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	25- 9-27	Head Master, Town High School, Guntur.
94	Ramachendra Rao D., B.A.	Pleader	5- 9-26	Kotakonda, Konduru Post, Kurnool Dt.
95	Ramachendra Rao R. S., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Hd. Master, Samaasthanam H. St. Bobbili.
96	Ramakrishna Rao T., B.A., L.T.	Do.	10-12-26	Ast., Bd. H. School, Kothapet, Razole Tq.
97	Ramakrishna Sastri B., B.A.	Pleader	12- 3-28	Pleader, Vizagapatam.
98	Ramakrishnayya K., M.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram.
99	Ramalingam B.,		30-11-27	Rajahmundry.
100	Ranalingam W., B.A., L.T.		17- 5-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Berhampore.
101	Ramamurti G., B.A., Rao Saheb.		19- 3-25	Parlakimedi.
102	Ramamurti K.	Supervisor	27-10-26	Municipal Supervisor, Vizag.
103	Ramamurti Y., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	17- 5-27	Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
104	Ramanamurti R. V., M.A., B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Vakil, Berhampore.

Serial No.	Name of member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
105	Rama Rao A., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	Govt. Pleader, Rajahmundry.
106	Rama Subba Iyer B. S.,		31- 8-27	Asst. Librarian, Adyar Library, Madras.
107	Ramayya Pantulu J., B.A., B.L.		19- 3-25-	Mukteswararam, Tottaramudi Pt. Amalapur
108	Ramadas G., B.A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Head Master, B. H. S. Jeypore.
109	Rangachari K., M.A.	Do.	Do.	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.
110	Rangachari N., M.A., L.T.	Do.	27- 1-25	Head Master High School, Pithapuram.
111	Rangachari V., M.A.	Do.	Do.	Prof. of History, Prescy. College; Madras.
112	Rangaswami N., M.A.	Do.	10-12-26	Lec. in History, A. V. N. College, Vizag.
113	Rangaswami Swaraswati A., B.A.		30-11-24	Asst. Ep. Triplicane, Madras.
114	Ranganayakamma Y., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	6- 1-27	Govt. Girls High School, Rajahmundry.
115	Ranga Reddi N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	Do.	President, Dt. Bd. Cuddapah, Proddutur.
116	Rao P. S., M.A., I.C.S.		2-12-26	Officer on Special Duty, Drug C. P.
117	Sachidananda Roy, B.A.		9- 5-26	Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
118	Sambasiva Rao C.	Bar-at-law	7- 7-27	Rajahmundry.
119	Sambasiva Rao D.	Inamdar	9- 5-26	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
120	Sambasiva Rao M.	Pleader	30- 4-27	Teacher, Mandasa Ganjam.
121	Sambasiva Rao S. V., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	17- 5-27	Teacher, V. High School, Rajahmundry.
122	Sankara Rao A., B.A., L.T.	Do.	30-11-24	Hindi Propagandist, Rajpalam, RamnadDt.
123	Sarma S. V. S. R.		17- 5-27	Teacher, Hg. School, Ponnuru, Guntur Dt.
124	Satyanarayana Bh., B.A.		10-12-26	Teacher, Hg. School, Ponnuru, Guntur Dt.
125	Satyanarayana B. V. N., B.A.	Inamdar	31- 8-27	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
126	Satyanarayana Rajaguru		23- 1-28	Parlakimedi.
127	Satyanarayana Rao P., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
128	Seshagiri Rao B., M.A.	Teacher	3- 4-27	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.
129	Seshagiri Rao P., B.A.		Do.	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.

130	Seshagiri Rao R.	Teacher	7- 7-27	Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
131	Seshadri P., M.A.		18-10-27	Prof. of Eng. Benares Hindu University.
132	Sitapati G., B.A., L.T.		Nil	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakemidi.
133	Seetarama Rao K., M.A.	Advocate	5- 9-26	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry.
134	Setlur S. S., B.A., L.L.B.	Journalist	9- 5-26	Advocate, Chief Court, Bangalore City.
135	Sivarama Sarma B.		Nil	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
136	Sivasankara Sastri T.	Author	9- 5-26	Kothapeta, Guntur.
137	Sitaramaiah G., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Vakil, Berhampore.
138	Somasekhara Sarma M.	Journalist	Nil	Andhra Patrika Office, G. T. Madras.
139	Somasundara Desikar.	Pandit	9- 5-26	Tamil Lexicon Office, Chapauk, Madras.
140	Somasundaram P., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
141	Somayajulu C., Rao Sahib.	Do.	6- 1-27	Govt. Pleader, Polavaram.
142	Someswara Rao Karra, B.A., B.L.	Do.	31- 7-27	High Court Vakil, Amalapur.
143	Someswara Rao K., B.A.	Pleader	31- 3-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
144	Sri Gopinath Deb Mahasayo.	Zamindar	31- 7-27	2nd Prince Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
145	Sri L. N. Harischandra Jagad Deb.	Do.	31- 8-27	Zamindar of Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
146	Srinivasa Raghavachari M. K.	Teacher	Do.	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
147	Sriram V., B.A., L.T.		6- 1-27	Dy. Insp. of Schools, Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
148	Sriramamurti D., B.A.	Pleader		Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
149	Srirama Sastri D., B.A., M.L.	Vakil	12- 3-28	Govt. Pleader, Vizagpatam.
150	Subbarao L., B.A., B.L.	Do.	27-10-26	High Court Vakil.
151	Subbarao Manugarra.		13-11-27	Secretary, Electric Supply Co., Rajmundry
152	Subbarao Pantulu N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	14- 2-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
153	Subbarao R., B.A., B.L.	Do.	31- 3-27	Do.
154	Subbarao Rallabandi, M.A., L.T.	Teacher	Nil	Lecturer in His., Arts College, Rajmundry
155	Subbarao V., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
156	Subbarayudu M., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Teacher, High School, Tuni.
157	Subrahmanyam K. R., M.A.	Do.	5- 9-26	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagram.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
158	Subrahmanyam V., M.A.		6- 1-27	Head Master, B. H. S. Chodavaram.
159	Subrahmanya Sastry S., B.A., B.L.		9- 5-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
160	Suri Sastry P., B.A.		12- 3-28	Masulipatam.
161	Suryanarayana Ch., B.A., B.L.		30- 4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
162	Suryanarayanamurti T.		1- 4-28	Dy. Ins. of Schools, Achanta Range.
163	Suryanarayanarao K.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
164	Suryaprakasarao C., B.A.		10-12-26	
165	Suryaprasadarao T.	Inamdar	2- 6-27	Siddhantam, Ganjam Dt.
166	Suryarao R., B.A., B.L.		31- 7-28	Commissioner, Rel. En. Bd., Madras.
167	Sundararao M. V.		17- 5-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Anakapalli.
168	Swami Babu P.	Inamdar	2- 6-27	Narsannapet, Ganjam Dt.
169	Trilochana Patro M.	Do.	7- 7-27	Luchpada, Berhampore.
170	Vajjulu R., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 7-27	Vakil, Rajahmundry.
171	Veerabasavaraju I.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Yeletipati Aghraharam, Penukonda Post.
172	Veerabhadrarao Ch.	Author	Nil	Kovur, W. Godavari.
173	Veeranna P., B.A.	Vakil	7- 7-27	Khandriga W. Alamur Pt., E. Godavari.
174	Veeraraghavachari S. E. V.		12- 3-28	President, Tel. Sans. Aca. Vizianagram.
175	Venkatachalam A., B.A., B.L.		2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
176	Venkatachalam Pantulu C., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	27-10-26	Do. Rajahmundry.
177	Venkatachalam P.	Do.	31- 3-27	Bapur Bazaar Street, Berhampore.
178	Venkatakrishnarao B., B.A., B.L.	Inamdar	Nil	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
179	Venkata Narasimha Sastri S., B.A.	Vakil	9- 5-26	Pleader, Bezwada.
180	Venkatanarayana T., B.A., B.L.	Pleader	12- 3-28	Sub Judge, Vizagapatam.
181	Venkataramiah I.	Sub Judge	10-12-26	Bezwada.
182	Venkataramaraju R.	Inamdar	27-10-26	Malikapuram, Rajole Tq.

183	Venkataramaniah S.	Student	3-3-27	Student, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
184	Venkataramiah D.	Vakil	14-11-25	Dy. Ins. of Sch, Kaikalur, W. Godavari.
185	Venkataramiah N., B.A., B.L.	Typist	30-4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
186	Venkatarao Ch.		5-9-26	Rajahmundry.
187	Venkatarao D., M.A., L.T.		Nil	Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
188	Venkatasivudu R., M.A., L.T.		10-12-26	Principal, V. R. College, Nellore.
189	Venkata Rangiah M., M.A.		30-11-24	Dewan, Vizianagram.
190	Venkata Subbarao N.	Inamdar	2-12-26	Indukurpet, Gokavaram.
191	Venkatesan N. K., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	14-2-26	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
192	Venkateswarlu V.	Shrotriendmar	2-12-26	Ed., Federated India & Telanga, Madras.
193	Venkatrama Iyer A. V., M. A.		30-11-24	Prof. Presidency College, Madras.
194	Vikramadev Varma Raja	Landlord	10-12-26	Vizagapatam.
195	Werner Rev. O. V.	Missionary	13-11-27	Luthergiri, Rajahmundry.
196	Yegnanarayana Sarma B. Ch.	Inamdar	17-5-27	Madugula, Vizag Dt.
197	Yoganandarao N. V., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	30-4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.

(3) Total List of Honorary Correspondents

- 1 Gopalakrishnamma K., M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
- 2 Jagadisa Iyer P. V., Archaeological Assistant, Triplicane, Madras.
- 3 Ramakrishna Kavi M., M.A., Teacher, Govt. H. E. Training School, Rajahmundry.
- 4 Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar R., M.A., Asst. Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Egmore, Madras.

